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PROSPECTUS

OF A

COMPENDIUM

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES:

INTENDED FOR THE USE OF FAMILIES.

BY A LAYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

DEDICATED BY PERMISSION TO

The Hon. and Right Rev. the LORD BISHOP OF DURHAM.

IN offering to the Public an edition of the Holy Scriptures in a form somewhat different from that in which they usually appear, it will be expected that some reasons should be assigned for such a variation.

It must be observed, therefore, that this work is more particularly intended for the use of Families; and one principal motive for the plan and arrangement which has been adopted, was to remove some of the objections made to the sacred volume with reference to its use in family reading.

Of the objections that have been made one of the chief is, that some parts of the Bible in our present translation are not proper to be read by or to a family; and this objection, indeed, is felt and acknowledged by the Ministers of our Church, in some of its public lessons. Again, some parts of the Bible, though they were important to the Jews, are comparatively of little importance to Christians, either for information or instruction; and this our Church allows, by omitting such parts entirely in her public

service: and in a regular reading of the Bible in a family, these parts must almost necessarily be passed over, and some care and attention will be required to make such a proper selection, as shall omit the unimportant parts without excluding any of the essential, or what may be necessary for our right understanding of the Jewish constitution and history. The intention of the present work is to comprise within it every portion of the Holy Scriptures, which can be considered proper and necessary either for instruction or edification; and little is omitted besides what our Church herself has omitted in her services.

With respect to alterations in the Text — though our present authorized version is perhaps as a whole the best, the most correct, and most spirited translation of a large work that ever came from the pen of man, still we must allow that it is a human composition, and, as such, susceptible of correction and improvement. The editor, however, has made his alterations with caution and diffidence, and in no case he believes without due consideration, and upon good authority, and in general rather to elucidate than to alter the meaning, for, where he differed in any material point as to the sense, he has chosen rather to refer to it in a note than to make an alteration in the text. There are few persons, however, that have read our present translation with attention who will not have perceived that some alterations are necessary, where words have become in a measure obsolete, or have changed their signification, or where the translators have attended too closely to the idiom of the original.

Our prayer-book translation of the Book of Psalms, though not so literal as that in the Bible, has by many judicious persons been considered more fervent, poetical, and harmonious. The two have been carefully compared together, and it is hoped that the result, as here given, will be considered an improvement of both.

In the New Testament there are few omissions, and not many alterations; but there are some alterations, the advantage of which, it is trusted, will be seen at once: and these are, in making the names of persons and places correspond with what they are in the Old Testament. This difference has occasioned an inconvenience often felt and complained of, and has not unfrequently misled the unlearned reader; and it is very difficult to account for the circumstance how our translators should in the same work give different names to the same persons, for instance, Isaiah in the Old Tes-

tament is called Esaias; Elijah, Elias; Joshua, Jesus; &c. &c.: for though the Hebrew name in the Bible, and the Greek name in the Testament, might differ, still when they came to be both translated into the same language, an uniformity of spelling should have been observed.

The usual divisions of chapters and verses are not adhered to in this work. They are of modern contrivance; no such divisions being in the originals. The division into verses was made about the year 1551 by Robert Stephens in his Latin translation; that into chapters was of earlier date. These divisions are certainly of great convenience for the purpose of reference; but in some other respects of more importance they are both inconvenient and improper, and have in many cases embarrassed the reader. The division into verses has been entirely omitted, and the larger books have been divided into sections or chapters in such a manner as not to disturb the sense or interrupt the narrative, and at the same time to make a rest or pause that may be useful and convenient to the reader.

After the many extensive commentaries which have been written by some of the most eminently pious and learned persons in this and other countries, who have made the expounding of the Holy Scriptures their great study and delight, it would be difficult to add any thing new, nor does the Editor pretend to much originality; his merit, if any, has been chiefly in compressing into as narrow a compass as appeared consistent with perspicuity, the most interesting and important matter of these valuable commentaries, explaining to a useful and practical effect such parts of the sacred writings as appeared doubtful or obscure, and drawing the attention of the reader to those parts that are more particularly deserving of his regard; and he may be excused in expressing a strong hope that they will be found useful and edifying.

The Editor has only farther to notice, that he has endeavoured to fill up the chasm in the history of the Jewish people, between the period of the Old and the New Testament, by an Historical Connection, the want of which has frequently been the cause of embarrassment to the reader of the Holy Scriptures, not intimately acquainted with that portion of ancient history. He trusts that what he has introduced will be found to answer this purpose, and give to the Reader a clear idea of the state of the Jews, and their

relative situation with respect to the neighbouring nations, at the eventful period when the New Testament commences. By way of completing the history of the Jews, and recording the fulfilment of some remarkable prophecies relating to them, a short memoir is added of the events that occurred from the time of the Apostles to the final overthrow of the Jewish state, and the destruction of the city and temple of Jerusalem by Titus son of the Emperor Vespasian.

A sufficient motive and satisfactory reasons, it is presumed, are here advanced for the present undertaking: and the Editor most fervently hopes that it may be productive of that benefit among Christians the desire of which has excited his humble endeavours in preparing it.

This Edition will be printed in Quarto on a fine Medium paper, with a clear new Type; and will be published in Parts, at Eight Shillings each.

The first part, containing the Pentateuch, will be published the first of May.

The whole will be comprised in Seven or Eight Parts.

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THE

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MAY, 1818.

ART. I.—ON PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

1. *The Representative History of Great Britain and Ireland, being a History of the House of Commons, and of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of the United Kingdom, from the earliest Period.* By T. H. B. Oldfield. 6 vols. 8vo. Baldwin and Co. London, 1816.
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"IT is true," says the great Bacon, "that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit. And those things which have long gone together, are, as it were, confederate within themselves: whereas new things piece not so well; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers, more admired and less favoured. All this is true if time stood still; which, contrariwise, moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence old times are but a scorn to the new. It were good, therefore, that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself, which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived; for, otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for.—It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility be evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation which draweth on the

change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and as the Scripture saith, that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look round about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it."

These were the sentiments of the man who looked at least as wisely and deeply into human affairs as any before or after him. And in the preamble to the Bill of Rights, is registered the declaration of the great men who composed the councils of that era of our liberties to this effect: "That the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons then assembled at Westminster (the parliament being then composed as it is now composed) *did lawfully, fully, and freely represent all the estates of the people of this realm.*"

When from these aphorisms of abstract and practical wisdom we turn to the pages of Mr. Oldfield's voluminous work, wherein the dogmas and propositions of modern reformers expand themselves in all their dulness and all their fury, we feel like travellers descending from a summit, from which the eye commands nature in all her real forms of substantial variety, into a lower region of mist and vapour, where false lights and deceptious magnitudes distract the vision and bewilder the fancy. Mr. Oldfield's book does at least one service to the community; it brings together, under one view, all the forms of argument which have been used against the representative system as it at present exists in practice. All the decantata, whatever has been said or sung a thousand thousand times from the Revolution to the present juncture, by political regenerators or reformers, philosophers or patriots, orators or empyrics, the deluders or the deluded, in favour of universal suffrage and annual parliaments, aided by an aggregation of facts and particulars all conspiring, as it is presumed, to the same end, are here produced in full confidence of settling a question, which has waited for its final solution for the birth of such a genius as that which has furnished to us the subject of our present examination. How great will be Mr. Oldfield's contempt of us, when he hears, if he hears of it at all, that, with all this array of argument and fact before us, we not only remain unconvinced of the necessity or expediency of any such reform as he recommends to us, but that we deem his book so destructive of his own purpose in writing it, that, if the suspicion did not convey a compliment to his wisdom, which it does by no means deserve, we should guess the whole compilation to be intended as *war in disguise* against the whole host of modern reformers. If we were really enemies to all reform and all improvement,—to that reform which engrafts upon experience, and that principle of improvement which unites with the principle of con-

servation, we might insidiously recommend this publication, the tendency whereof is, by its paramount silliness, to bring the very name of a thing into contempt, which, in its sober acceptation and sound application to the realities of human condition, ought to be for ever in our contemplation. But we will not make any indirect use of this author's imbecility. He might be used, to be sure, with great advantage against himself, by a wholesale recommendation of the work as it stands, with its dedicatory offering at the shrine of the Hampden Club, its denunciation of every act and thing obtruded upon us, in the course of our political history, between the Wittenagemote and Sir Francis Burdett; its derivation of our constitutional rights from the ancient Britons, and its contempt of Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and Bill of Rights, as giving us only a portion of that liberty, which by birth and nature entirely belonged to us. But we do not wish to see too strong a counter-spirit excited against reform, or the term itself loaded with undistinguishing reproach. As the real interests of religion have deeply suffered by the use made of the term methodist, so the word reformist, by the arts and delusions practised under the pretence of reformation, may acquire a similar odium, and become equally decisive and denunciatory against every attempt at improvement. We, therefore, enter a sort of protest against this abuse of the term "reform," which is in truth as little descriptive of the real object which it is used to designate as the foolish phrase "Catholic emancipation."

The extent to which Mr. Oldfield carries his ideas of reform he is not slow in giving his readers fully to understand. He is quite sure there used to be at one period or another, no matter how remote, the exercise of an universal right of legislative interference diffusively vested in the whole population; and, according to him, a right once exercised in the earliest and rawest state of a people is to pass through all succeeding eras, in absolute defiance of all the changes and chances of mortal condition. In contending for the right of legislation in the people on this ground of primeval usage, it is not easy to see how the line of his argument connects with what his book professes to illustrate —the representative history of Great Britain. In the *commune concilium* which he finds to have existed among the ancient Britons, or in the Wittenagemote of the Saxons, he does not pretend to see any regular representation of the people; but he deduces a satisfactory proof of the presence of the commonalty of the kingdom at these Saxon national assemblies (it is too ridiculous to discuss the composition of the *commune concilium* of the Britons or the Germans), from the language of the royal edicts. He concludes, that as these decrees import to have been

made in the presence of the people, the people must have not only been auditors, but participators in all that was done or resolved at these assemblies; and that, therefore, the artisans, the peasants, and the paupers are, no less than the peers, the hereditary counsellors of the Crown.

In the year 855, Ethelpholf, King of the West Saxons, gave the tithe of his kingdom to the church by an act, the preamble of which states it to have been done with the advice of the bishops and chief men (the archbishops and bishops of all England being present and subscribing thereto, as also Beorred King of Mercia, and Edmund King of the East Angles), and of the abbots, abbesses, thanes, aldermen, and great men of the kingdom, and *an infinite number of other faithful people*, who all applauded the act of the King, &c. Now, says the author of this patriotic publication, "Aliorumque fidelium infinita multitudo" must, and can imply nothing but an unlimited number of the community. And in the same strain of argument he reasons from similar descriptive terms in a multitude of similar edicts; while no man but a stout reformer and patriot, like the author of this sapient work, can see any thing in the language of these ordinations to prove more than the simple fact that these laws so promulgated by our Saxon ancestors were made or confirmed in assemblies of the great men who signed what the prince proposed, while the privilege enjoyed by the attendant crowd was that of vociferating applause.

To us, and probably to most of our readers, this sort of *commune concilium* wears but little the appearance of a representative legislation; if it prove any interference at all by the common people, it was not an interference in the way of representation, but by acclamation; and indeed, in some parts of the work before us, it seems as if the author carried his respect for the original rights of the people beyond the privilege of speaking by a representative organ, to the assertion of a power in them of pronouncing in *propriis personis* their catholic consent or dissent to the laws. For our parts we verily believe that if for people we were to read "vassals," and for "faithful" obsequious, we should vary but little the substantial import of these terms.

The sense in which this author understands "people," whenever he finds that auspicious term in any of the ancient annals, is such as to favour his spirited line of politics at the expense of all reason and probability. Having discovered in Henry of Huntingdon, that Sigebert, King of the West Saxons, was expelled by the chief men and *people* of the whole kingdom, and Kenewolf elected in his stead, he leaps exultingly to the conclusion, that the Saxon people concurred with the nobility in

deposing one king and electing another, not in a tumultuous manner, but with a *parliamentary* deliberation and consent; taking care at the same time by printing "elected" in Italics, to prevent a word so big with inference from being lost upon the reader. With the same complacency this learned writer finds the elements of our constitutional freedom, and a profound argument for universal suffrage, in the practice of the Germans, as recorded by Tacitus, who says "De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes; ita tamen ut ea quoque, quorum apud plebem arbitrium est, apud principes pertractentur." In high spirits from this discovery of the majesty of the people among the ancient Germans, and their superiority in council and cabinet deliberation, he proceeds in his learned career to the Commentaries of Cæsar, by whom he finds it said of the same nation that "Neither hath any one a certain field, or proper boundaries; but the magistrates and chief men in *every year* apportion to a tribe of people, who live together, a certain quantity of land, according to their number, and after a year remove them to another place. Ut animi equitate plebem contineant, quum suis quisque opes cum potentissimis æquari videat." From this passage it were natural for such a reasoner as Mr. Oldfield to argue for the agrarian principle of distribution; but by what process of ratiocination he deduces from it an argument for the *representative* system of annual parliaments and universal suffrage it is very difficult to comprehend; yet he thus sums up the evidence of these classical quotations: "Hence it is not only evident that the people at large had their representation, but that the *commune concilium* was held once at least in every year." It is by this sort of reasoning that our author proves what he undertakes in his preface to demonstrate "that the representative system is as ancient as the establishment of civil society in the world."

This "*commune concilium*" of the ancient Germans and Britons we are here informed was succeeded by the Wittenagemote, or Saxon National Council; and although, to be sure, there is little trace of a representative legislation from the time of Edward the Confessor to King John, still he observes that "during that period, as far as was practicable, when the assemblies of the nation were no longer convened in open plains, none of the inferior orders of freemen residing in or near the place where the parliament met were excluded from attending it *in their own persons*, the number of them being only limited by the capaciousness of the building or place in which they were assembled." The author's penetrating vision then discovers to him a scot and lot system of representation until the reign of Henry VI., when by the eighth of that Prince the nation was disfranchised by the

restriction of the right of suffrage for counties to the freehold qualification of forty shillings a-year.

The truth seems to be, that the little ability which the writer of these volumes possesses is quite lost in the expansion of his subject, while he seems sincerely bent upon some vague purpose of showing how many fine privileges we have lost of destroying our own happiness, and how exalted was the genius of those ancient establishments, wherein, as he supposes, every man was a legislator who could halloo loud enough to be heard in those great agrarian councils in which the nation's business was dispatched in a day.

That in those dark periods of our history which preceded and succeeded to the conquest, many of the elements of our present free constitution are discernible;—that by some favouring circumstances in the primary composition and first forms of society, the ground-work was laid for that lofty structure which has since been reared;—that the popular division of the country into jurisdictions of greater or less extent, and the frequent opportunities afforded the people of assembling, or attending assemblies, where transactions of public interest were under consideration, or at least promulged and ratified, imparted an impulse to the national character, a capacity for freedom, a plastic vigour of political feeling, which through various fortunes has given us a constitution the work of centuries, the product of mind conspiring with, or controuling, events,—we both feel and acknowledge: but that we are to look for the model of our constitution in these rude and simple beginnings, or that any perfect form of liberty and law, or indeed any thing more than the materials and mind, out of which the complex, and mixed, and well-adapted frame of polity under which we now live and flourish has arisen, is to be there discerned, is a position ridiculous or dangerous, according as it is assumed for the purpose of speculation or practice. The word "people," so often occurring in the description of the persons composing or present at the national councils in our early history, has been seized upon by this author, as deciding the fact that what he treats as our primitive constitution was entirely popular and free: a word, so flexible and ambiguous in its import, it was easy to make subservient even to the argument of this imbecile dabbler in politics. But it is very evident to every man who reads the annals and records of our early history, not with the mind of a party-politician, but as an honest inquirer after truth and fact, that the people of no property in those times were of no moment in the state, and that none but a writer deliberately setting about the proof of the hereditary right to universal suffrage could imagine that, when Edward the Confessor, in a great council, granted the charter to the

Abbey of Westminster, "coram episcopis, abbatibus, comitibus, et omnibus optimatibus Angliæ, *omnique populo audiente et videnle*," or, that when Canute in the fifth year of his reign held a council of his archbishops, dukes, earls, and abbots, "cum quam plurimis gregariis militibus, et cum populi multitudine copiosa," the persons implied by the term "people" were admitted to any deliberative share in these councils, or were present in any other character than as spectators of the solemnity, and as witnesses to proclaim and preserve the memory of the transactions. A man must be worse than ignorant, the dupe of the veriest party cant, to suppose the term "wites," or "wise men," to comprehend within its meaning the common people, or lowest orders of the community, at a time when nothing gave importance but property, and property was little else than that which the sword had carved out for the first possessor.

It is clear, however, from the tenour of history, that the Wittenagemote, loose as was its texture and constitution, meeting at various places, sometimes in open fields, summoned at the monarch's pleasure, at Christmas, Easter, or Whitsuntide, and completing its duties in the compass of a day, did yet comprise many popular ingredients, and has laid the foundation of our liberties by affording a precedent, which the country has never in the most arbitrary periods totally forgotten, for the participation of the people in the great work of legislation. During the greatest portion of its continuance, it is probable that none of the people composed a part of it but those who possessed a free property in land of a certain extent; and as these allodial tenements were probably very numerous in the earlier periods of the Saxon history, before they were merged in the larger masses of feudal acquisition, towards which state they were tending rapidly, even before the Norman conquest, it may safely be inferred that the Wittenagemote admitted a considerable proportion of what may, in the better sense, be called "the people." Such being the case, one cannot help being amused at finding this writer so fierce against what he rhetorically calls the disfranchising statute of the 8th Henry VI. whereby a freehold of forty shillings a-year was made the qualification for a vote for a county member, and so vehement in his admiration of the popular form of an institution which annexed the same right to a similar species of property at a time when the obvious tendency of such property was towards aristocratical accumulation. The Saxon qualification took in fewer of the people as the feudal system advanced; while on the other hand, as the value of money decreased, the forty shillings' qualification increased in popular expansion. Such, however, has been the obloquy in which this statute of Henry VI. stands among

modern patriots and reformers, that they scruple not to deny its validity on the ground of its being a disfranchisement of inferior descriptions of property, while the very reform of the representation, which is the object of their present clamour, involves the disfranchisement of cities and boroughs whose privileges have existed for centuries. It is not, however, that we quarrel with this right of disfranchisement, or deny the power of radical change in its fullest extent to the sovereign authority of the state, but that we deny the power which these ridiculous declaimers assume of holding statutes invalid when they touch what they pronounce inviolable, and yet demanding at the hands of parliament the demolition of whatever privileges are opposed to their theories of constitutional perfection, however remotely derived, and established by continuance, and what is of infinitely more importance to the validity of any title, however proved by posterior events, to be at least consistent with an unparalleled extent of national prosperity, if not instrumentally concerned in its preparation and development.

But what we mean, say they, is this:—All that you have been urging supposes our constitution to be a compounded result of the various agency of charters, concessions, grants, customs, and conventional and legislative acts, working together with time and accident, and emergency, and the multiplied operation of causes, moral and physical, and complexional, sometimes silent and slow, sometimes loud and decisive, partly involuntary and uncontemplated, and partly the product of experimental sagacity; but we on the other hand consider all these influences, additions, and modifications as so many usurpations, disfiguring and contaminating that pure constitution which flourished among our Saxon ancestors, and under which the people lived happy, free, and protected. Now supposing this argument to be grounded on a right assumption of the fact, the next proposition necessary to complete the premises, and which must be made good before the conclusion intended can be arrived at, is this, that the same political institutions which were adapted to the state and condition of society before the conquest, are equally calculated to secure moral freedom, equal justice, and a steady government in the present internal and external relations of this great country. But the fact assumed is notoriously false, or stupidly mistaken. It is rashly, or mischievously deduced from a garbled selection of incidents, in themselves full of contradiction and uncertainty, but never difficult to extract and embody out of the anomalous transactions of a rude age; which partial inferences are greatly assisted by strained interpretations of the vague and general terms used by ancient writers, who, not anticipating the blunders or the controversies of after times, were little circumspect in their

phraseology; while the plain conclusions from undisputed facts which present to us the actual state of the country when in the hands of our unlettered ancestors is designedly overlooked.

It is not to be denied that the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Athelstan, Edmund, Edgar, Ethelred, Edward the Confessor, and even of Canute the Great, prove the existence of a legal and limited government. Yet even in the best times of that obscure period, the principles and objects of legislation were so imperfectly understood, and private and public wrongs so ineffectually provided against, the great were so raised above the controul, and the feeble so depressed below the protection of law, that nothing but gross prejudice or mischievous design could so pervert the truth as to bring the present times into a degrading comparison with that barbarous age.

With respect to the state of things at the Norman conquest, and the consequences of that great event in times succeeding, a vast diversity of opinions has prevailed; nor have the accumulated labours of antiquarian research at all tended to settle disputes, but rather to furnish conflicting testimonies and discordant materials, from which each side of the controversy has recruited its strength. According to De Lolme, the Norman tyranny crushed and confounded all orders and degrees under its irresistible weight; and in the dense assimilation of all interests under this involuntary union he discerns the origin of an organized spirit of resistance diffusing itself over the land, and a sympathy of feeling extending itself from the noble to the peasant. Here this popular writer imagined he had discovered the source of our liberties, and explained the enigma of our constitution. According to his theory, our liberties had their birth in the struggles consequent upon this state of things, without any reference to a higher period. Others see little or nothing of this compromise between the high and low, rich and poor, under the first kings of the Norman dynasty; and consider it as a period in which the minds of men full of martial enterprise, claims of service, challenges of right, territorial disputes, private feuds, and personal aggrandizement, had neither leisure nor liberality, nor elevation, to comprehend the principles of social freedom, and the maxims of equal justice. And there are others who, in the midst of Norman barbarism and tyranny, trace the operation of that ancient spirit which animated the Saxon councils, and discern the fire still glowing in its embers, and refusing to be smothered by feudal bondage or military domination. Each of these different views of the interval between the Conquest and Magna Charta may find some support in the annals which have brought down its confused and meagre details, and they are by no means contradictory or inconsistent; but a clear conviction arises in every

impartial mind from a comparison of the accounts of most weight and research, and from a candid attention to the indications of facts, that no representative legislation substantially existed in this country before the reign of Henry III.; or that, after that reign, although the form of a representative House of Commons began to appear, any constancy or ascendancy displayed itself in its proceedings before the succession of the house of Tudor. No one, says the well-informed writer of the "Observations on the ancient Statutes," who reads the old historians and chronicles, will discern any strong allusion to, or trace of it (*i. e.* the interference of the Commons in the legislation), if he does not sit down to the perusal with the intention of proving that they formed a component part of it.

The feudal system was a political anomaly. It comprehended elements the most jarring and discordant. Its character was diversified by every variety of human condition and temper: impatient and submissive, disorderly and disciplined, fierce, devout, loyal, turbulent, volatile, severe; encircled with brass, yet always bursting its confines; and amidst fits and starts of freedom and slavery, of prostration and power, at once the ruin and support of empire, and shaking with incessant vibration the battlements of its restless abode. In such a state every speculative politician might easily find the foundations of his favourite argument. Insulated facts and extraordinary crises present themselves in abundance; and upon the waves of so tumultuous a scene any theory will be found to float. It is only to assume these particular crises as the ordinary attitude of the country, and the case is made out to the prejudiced or superficial reader; and such a misjudging man, even as the author of the work before us, may, by such a selection, pass a cheat upon the sense of half the nation. The vision of a perfect constitution may thus be made to flit before the fancy, in obedience to the wand of every vulgar professor of the black art; and the deluded villager and hungry artisan may thus be enticed from home and happiness in the pursuit of an empty shadow.

But the feudal system, though it placed men in very diversified attitudes, afforded no natural play to the human passions or dispositions. It was too rigidly and coercively fashioned and composed. It made no allowance for the changeful progression of human things as society advances in its moral career. For the continuance of the feudal scheme, mind and property were required to be stationary; but still out of its own arrangements was supplied a stimulus which kept the faculties in motion: knowledge and discovery opened the door of improvement, wants were multiplied, and intercourse expanded, till at length enterprise and commerce burst the barrier, and property spread in all directions.

A state of things gradually succeeded which not only dissolved the relations and proportions on which the feudal fabric depended, and gave importance and dignity to new orders and ranks of persons, but with these changes introduced new notions of right, and justice, and security, which, as circumstances and conjunctures ripened them into operation, have resulted in a liberty tempered by law, which it should be our present policy to preserve rather than to enlarge.

But our foolish or insidious reformists will not accept their liberty with this title. They will not take it as the result of knowledge and experience. They claim it by a title paramount to all experience—as the spontaneous product of some golden period expanding with the luxuriance of untutored nature. Having once determined upon the era of its existence, an era of blind antiquity, they fancy they trace its isolated form and majestic features through all the subsequent mazes of the feudal history: they see it in the midst of the military tenures and forest laws, and breathing and struggling, however oppressed, under the massive and momentous power of the first feudal crowns in the plenitude of their prerogative and financial independence.

But the absurdity of these speculations is manifest to every unbiassed reader of English history. He sees, indeed, that when the profusion, ambition, or enthusiasm of the Norman race of kings engaged them in exhausting expeditions and protracted wars, beyond the extent of the feudal military service, the vast resources to which we have been adverting became insufficient; that the monarchs were compelled, by their lust of aggrandizement, to turn to the people for assistance, and thus a basis of compromise and reciprocal concession became gradually established: that kings began to feel their dependence, and subjects their power, but not in a corresponding ratio: that the people, inflated with their new acquisitions, demanded a quicker surrender than suited the prejudices of habitual power, till a struggle and collision ensued, which ended in the sudden dissolution of the monarchy, and the sanguinary fate of the Prince upon the throne.

It is through this fiery process that our liberties have been elaborated: not cast at once, but wrought by degrees, and hammered out to their present temper and toughness. We shall find neither their moulds nor their models in any of the charters, or edicts, or acts of government which took place in our first feudal reigns. The charter of William I. for the disjunction of the old jurisdictions of the county courts, implies nothing beyond the mandate of the Prince, flowing from his own authority, accompanied by the advice of his council. The charter of Henry I. which was the model of the great charter, emanated from the sole undisputed authority of the monarch;

and, as Mr. Hume observes, "was unfit to be the deed of any one who possessed not the whole legislative power, and who might not at pleasure revoke his concessions." The reign of Henry II. is full of instances of the assumption of the power of legislation by the Prince. The assembly at Clarendon was the organ of the royal will, displayed both in the enactment and alteration of law. Nor is there in the exercise of that will any surmise of the sanction or concurrence of the national council. The great charter itself contained no express provision for an improved system of legislation. It was, indeed, a precedent for limiting the power of the monarch, and has been a guide to succeeding ages in the policy of legislation and the principles of freedom; but the parliament owes nothing of its specific constitution to this cherished law. The word *parliament*, which is of French origin, when first known to this country, expressed little more than the great Court Baron of the King as the paramount superior, which, though it maintained a jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, was long in acquiring any functions of legislation, and had at first, perhaps, no higher province than to register the royal decrees, and to give advice when it was asked. It seems in the first two Norman reigns to have been composed only of the immediate vassals of the crown; and the principal business which engaged their attention, was naturally the adjustment of the rights and duties of the feudal relation, until, in the reign of Henry I. the ecclesiastical dignitaries became a component part of these assemblies, and then the church and its rights came under discussion; but on general and civil concerns, we see nothing in them of legislative measures or debates.

Still, however, they were assemblies for purposes of great concernment. Meetings of men of such high birth and pretensions would naturally occasion some fermentation of mind, so that it is probable they were seldom dissolved without some advance in public wisdom, and improved impressions of political liberty. Meanwhile the crown became needy, the feudal masses broken, charters were multiplied, and disputed successions became the frequent sources of compromise between the kings, the nobility, and the people. Forfeitures and regrants, the consequences of the civil wars, diffused and subdivided property; and the crown, in its endeavour to reduce the pride and contumacy of the nobility, called up the people into political importance. Thus tenures became split and multiplied, and the qualification for seats in the national councils extended over a larger description of the general population.

We should be glad to trace the steps by which the real dignity and proper office of parliaments came to be understood and established, among which the statute of *quia emptores terrarum*,

18 Ed. I. in opening channels for the dispersion of overgrown estates, was among the most silent but most effective; but for such a task we have neither room nor leisure. We can only, in a rapid course, run over a few particulars. The statute to which we have just alluded, by permitting the sale of lands, and putting a stop to the lengthening chain of tenures, services, and subinfeudation, promoted into consequence a new order of men; and in multiplying tenants *in capite*, diminished the dignity but increased the attendance at the great courts baron, and infused into them a more popular spirit. The probability is, for no cautious man can speak of these matters with any stronger assurance than probability, that, while the greater barons would, by their fastidious secession from these assemblies, gradually form themselves into a select order, a greater expansion would, by degrees, be given to the quality of the new attendants. Landholders, not in the feudal relation of crown vassals, would thus, it is probable, become summonable to these assemblies; and as personal attendance grew irksome and expensive, a delegation of some of their order, in behalf of themselves and others, would soon suggest itself as an alleviation of the burthen of their new privileges. In this manner an aperture was made for the perpetual introduction of fresh popular ingredients, till the Commons' House of Parliament assumed a consistent form, and the difficulties to which monarchs were reduced, by domestic and foreign contests, forced from them a series of grants, that continually widened the representative basis. It is in the reign of Henry IV. that we find it enacted, that "all who should be present at the county court next after the delivery of the writ to the sheriff, should be entitled to vote for the knights of shires;" the disorders consequent upon which extension of the privilege occasioned the restriction by the act of the eighth Henry VI.

That numerous privileges and immunities had very early been bestowed upon towns by royal patrons, is historically clear. In the great charter they are not only mentioned, but provision is made for their not being taxed, unless by their own consent, which will appear less surprising if we consider that by their charters of incorporation many of them were put upon the level of the immediate vassals of the crown. These towns corporate, as well as the boroughs, or towns of ancient demesne, would naturally be among the first to furnish instances of representative delegation. But the coalition of knights and burgesses into one assembly, distinct from that of the greater barons, which was the proper era of parliament, in the present constitutional understanding of that term, history does not enable *us* to ascertain, whatever peculiar illuminations on this subject may have set all these matters so clear to Mr. Oldfield and our modern reformers.

During the whole reign of Henry III., the participation of the Commons in the legislation of the country was in a natural train of development, till, about the middle of the reign of his son, this popular branch of our free constitution became complete as to the formation and permanence of its acknowledged principles, and the theory of its general rights.

It was, however, very long after the constitution of parliament had been thus confirmed, before it was efficient and free in the exercise of its legitimate powers. Through the reigns of the three Edwards, the burgesses were very irregularly summoned, the election arbitrarily influenced and controuled, and themselves neglected or intimidated. The members in general felt the attendance a burden, and often confessed themselves unequal to the task of legislation. Their duties appear to have been considered rather as occasionally than constantly, or essentially necessary; and if the monarch sometimes asked for their advice, he as often compelled their submission. It is, indeed, well worthy of observation, how little the first construction of this popular frame of our government proceeded from the people themselves. The statute, *de tallagio concedendo*, which, by taking from the King the power to tax the royal demesnes, independently of parliament, put the staff of the empire into the hands of the people, was the work of the barons; an event which decidedly characterizes the reign of Edward the First, as the true era of the commencement of our liberties: since which time, though with very unequal pace, sometimes unobserved, sometimes seeming to be stationary, and sometimes to lose ground, they maintained a progression tumultuous or steady, virtual or decisive, firm or vacillating, through a series of eventful reigns, to that Revolution, which was peacefully accomplished by the triumph of temper, unanimity, and wisdom, over bigotry, superstition, and the arbitrary abuse of power.

Edward III. was often reduced by his wants, which followed in the train of his military glory, to treat his Commons with distinction and complaisance; but it was in the twelfth year of his reign that we find an interference of the grossest kind with the rights and independence of parliament. Badwin, Calm, Malmsbury, and Marleburgh, had sent members to that assembly, in the preceding part of the same reign; and yet, in the year above-mentioned, the sheriff of Wilts returned for Sarum, Wilton, and Dowton only, alleging that there were no more cities and boroughs in his county; and Mr. Prynne, as well as Dr. Brady, mentions many other similar instances. The last-mentioned writer, indeed, observes that boroughs might be so poor as not to be able to pay the wages of the members, or that there might not be, in certain boroughs, two persons fit for the trust, the persons then chosen being really townsmen or burgesses.

In the reign of Richard II. we find petitions upon grievances frequent; but in these petitions we generally see marks of the subserviency of the Commons to the views of the aristocracy, who preferred originating the measures against the crown and its favourites in this way; and in this growing practice we discover the foundation of that formidable engine of popular security—the right of impeachment.

Throughout the arbitrary reigns of the Tudors, the Commons, amidst affronts and contemptuous disregard, were in a steady course of advancement; and the little consideration in which they were held, except when called upon to lend themselves to the crown, in reducing the ascendancy of the old nobility, permitted them to accumulate, without observation, their active force for that season of contest which the circumstances of the country were preparing, and which the crown itself was accelerating in utter ignorance of the tendencies of the times. While the exemption from arrests, the exclusive jurisdiction of elections, the postponement of the royal veto to the conclusion of the question under debate, and other similar accessions of strength, were confirming the power of the Commons, the prerogative, though conceding nothing of its pretensions, was losing fast its substance and resources, till the inevitable hour arrived which brought the monarch and people directly into conflict, without any interposing influences to save the country from the shock of the collision. The error of Charles I. was this, that he totally mistook the condition of the country, nor saw the place into which the power of the state had insensibly been tranferred. With the restoration of the monarchy, things could not settle into their former places. The effects of the jar, and the violence of the dislocation, were long felt in the labour and friction with which the machine of government worked. But in the midst of great disorder, a harmony of parts and a general adjustment of powers were in a train of procedure, conducted rather by events than by counsel. Although, in this stage of our history, it is evident that the film of political prejudices and habits had, in a great measure, fallen from the eyes of the nation, and men began to perceive that liberty was not a gift that fell from heaven like manna upon the wilderness; but rose from the earth, the gradual product of cultivation and the seasons, and full of the indigenous properties of the soil.

Having gained its great points, the Commons were now too securely strong to be timorously violent; they felt their own strength, and discerned the weak places of their antagonist. One of their earliest proceedings, therefore, was to despoil the crown of the prerogatives of wardship and marriage, of the influence derived from which history gives us many curious instances, and

at once to remove from existence what the genius of the times had made it dangerous to use—the feudal apparatus of military tenures. The courts of star-chamber, and high commission, and the vague jurisdiction of martial law, had all sunk into obloquy and disgrace, and every vestige of undefined power was now melted down into the settled forms of distributive justice, of which the rights of juries were the prominent part.

Still, however, till the seventh of William III. bribery at elections of members of parliament was provided against by no positive and specific law; and during the reign of that prince, in whose time the dependance of the crown upon the people for its effective strength was fully developed, the natural effort of government to maintain the balance of estates, and the efficiency of the executive, was displayed in the exercise of what may be called *direct and open influence*, in contradistinction to that milder species which it has since assumed. Charles II. was unblushing in the use of influence; neither moral nor political shame intercepted the career of his profligacy: his means were as devoid of honour as his objects were destitute of principle. But this was ultimately beneficial to the cause of freedom. His careless abuse of such resources as remained to him revealed in their true character his means and his ends, and served as an index to the points of attack and the sources of danger; so that every fresh budding of the old prerogative influence was cut off as it sprouted, and the sceptre came into the hand of William like that of Achilles, leafless and sapless, and shorn of its luxuriance; but polished, and hardened, and bound in iron to resist the injuries of time and exposure. By something little short of a maxim of the constitution, which became established in this reign, the *veto* has fallen into disuse, and lies as a resource of exigence in the archives of government. Its disappearance was coincident with a necessary practical change in the constitution. And as we are here speaking our mind, without the least regard to consequences as far as they affect ourselves, and with an utter contempt for brawling patriotism, we declare our opinion to be, that the substance of that mild government under which we live must necessarily have long ago disappeared, and left a gaping and gloomy void for the substitution of an arbitrary and military domination, had not an *indirect influence* been the fruit of the struggle of the constitution to preserve its own existence. It was the effort of its very nature, under the stress and emergency of its new predicament.

It must either be a government of force or favour; unless any one is so happy in his opinion of his species as to think that men, in the gross, are to be governed by truth and argument, independently of their passions, their prejudices, and their immediate love of themselves. Such a doctrine is sure to be

popular with the multitude, and is, therefore, the eternal theme of those who compliment to betray them. Nothing can restore the royal negative upon bills which have passed both houses of parliament to its safe and ordinary exercise. That which has grown into an aphorism of polity, by the practice of the constitution and the consolidation of public opinion, has little less of authority, and much more radical permanence, than law itself; and when Lord Shelburne, in the year 1782, in lieu of the influence which the proposed reform was to abolish, surmised the necessity of restoring the obsolete exercise of the royal negative, he suggested a thing of most dangerous experiment, if not plainly visionary, and at the same time illustrated the necessity for the substitution of a certain degree of influence in the place of the veto, thus withdrawn from use, to support the equilibrium of the state. Our modern reformers talk sometimes in a similar strain; they are for taking entirely from the crown the *influence* which may be safely and beneficially used, and restoring an authority which has never been lost, except in as much as it can never safely be used; and which is incapable of being restored in practice until the national sentiment can be altered by enactment. The legislative interference of the crown has little more than a speculative or potential existence, in its attributes of legal and avowed prerogative; in its capacity of influence it has its proper scope and bearing; and though this influence may be obnoxious in its excess, or its abuse, and is a proper subject of jealousy and restraint, yet without it there plainly can be no executive in this country: the theory of the constitution might exist in name, like the consular function under the sceptre of the Cæsars; but what we now call the government would be no more.

It is now apparent how low we are fallen below the standard of good Mr. Oldfield's patriotism and purity. So far is he from regarding the revolution, which brought the Prince of Orange to the throne, as the era of the confirmation of our liberties, that he disdainfully rejects the boon it conferred, and, in plain terms, declares that "he does not hesitate to date the decline of our constitution from the Revolution." He pathetically laments that the parliament began now to have an understanding with the crown, and that the former struggles between the people and the prerogative were from this time at an end. Into such exquisite nonsense is he transported by his feelings on this subject, that, in the hurry of his resentment, he complains that what he is pleased to call "our constitutional right of inheritance," meaning the universality of the elective franchise, which he says the people held by the ancient common law of the land, and *which they had enjoyed from generation to generation for* 1200 *years*, was destroyed at this period of our history. Such is the incoherent manner in

which this political philosopher rambles beyond the bounds of his limited capacity, negligent of landmarks, whether they define what lies within the province of his own intellect, or what is properly a part of the mixed and moral question on which he has thought fit to dilate. His indignation at the parliaments of King William makes him, for a moment, forgive or forget all the encroachments of the Plantagenets, and Tudors, and Stuarts, together with the disfranchising statute of Henry VI. We have in one place the constitution placed upon its derivative authority, and brought down to us as an inherited right; but in another place we are told of the "inherent right of suffrage," and of "the sound reason" with which the Duke of Richmond declared that "every man, not labouring under natural or moral disability, had this *inherent right*, paramount to all considerations of civil or political expediency," which is the true creed of the whole body of Palace-yard reformers, and the quintessence of all their dogmas upon the subject. And this is the government intended by Mr. Oldfield when he speaks of it in page 493 of his second volume, as "founded upon the common rights of mankind, in which" O sage remark, "wisdom and honesty are the only qualifications necessary for a member of parliament," and "so" in his usual spirit of consistency, he declares, "it continued down for 1,200 years!"

We think we shall not misstate the meaning, as far as they honestly have any, of all our distinguished reformers, whether of Palace-yard, or of the Livery of London, if we consider the writer of the volumes before us as the organ of their universal suffrage; and it is on that account that we pay him the greater attention. As we have adverted to some passages of his work (see vol. ii. p. 504), where the merits of the Revolution in 1688 appear to have been forgotten, it is but justice to him to observe, that, although he has in one place dated the "decline of our constitution" from that event, he has in another expressed himself in the following terms:

"Thus have we seen, through the whole course of four reigns, a continued struggle maintained between the crown and the people. Privilege and prerogative were ever at variance. The revolution forms a new epoch in the constitution, and was attended perhaps with consequences more advantageous to the people, than barely freeing them from an exceptionable administration, by deciding many important questions in favour of liberty, and still more by that great precedent of deposing one king, and establishing a new family, it gave such an ascendent to popular principles, as has put the nature of the English constitution beyond all controversy. And it may justly be affirmed, that this country has since enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the most entire system of liberty that was ever known among mankind." (Vol. i. p. 364.)

Thus we may perceive on what solid and consistent grounds the opinions of reformers rest; and we see how reconciled this writer in particular appears to become to the whole spirit and consequences of the Revolution, when he recollects the "great precedent" it afforded "of deposing one king, and establishing a new family." In another place, Mr. Oldfield comes much nearer to our own views of the happy change that took place in the practice of our constitution at the period of the Revolution. In considering the bill which in 1731 had passed the Commons, and was thrown out by the Lords, the object whereof was to disable all persons from sitting in parliament who enjoyed any place under, or received any pension from the crown, he very properly observes, that "A parliament absolutely independent of the crown, would in a short time infallibly reduce the crown to a state of dependence on itself. It is not," continues he, "by the perpetual conflicts of authority, but by the reciprocal dependence of the different branches of government, that the balance of the constitution, and the harmony of its movements, are most effectually preserved. A total annihilation of that *influence*, the dangerous and prodigious preponderance of which this bill was wisely calculated to check, would be attended with a train of political evils." Now this is in truth as much our sentiment as it is that of the author of this work: if he will allow the importance of this influence in a certain degree, we are satisfied, and our opinion of the salutary change in this respect introduced at the revolution is fully justified: the remaining difference is only as to the quantum, and that is a question, as we suppose, wholly to be settled by reference to actual experience, and the state of liberty and law, or, in other words, of practical prosperity enjoyed since the period under consideration. Now then we have only to advert to the admission of Mr. Oldfield himself on the point of actual enjoyment, and then the whole question between the author and ourselves will be set at rest, all else being the mere fillings up of his volume with the ephemeral cant of liberty and suffrage, and our Saxon constitution. For, says our author, in a lucid interval which occurs in page 364 of his first volume, "it may justly be affirmed, that this country has since (*i. e.* since the revolution of 1688, and since a government of influence has succeeded to that of prérogative) enjoyed, if not the best system of government, at least the best system of liberty, that was ever known among mankind." Now really after this, we will not quarrel with the author about words; we are content if we are allowed to have had since the period in question "the best system of liberty;" because we think that the *best system* of liberty must include and imply the best system of government;—at least, as good a system as any which

Sir Francis Burdett, or Major Cartwright, or any other of our most sapient reformers, could give us, or of which our Saxon ancestors have bequeathed us the model. The principle of indirect influence is conceded, and the degree in which it has been exercised on the part of our kings and their ministers has been such as, according to the admissions of Mr. Oldfield himself, to have produced, or, at least, to have been consistent with, the "best system of liberty that was ever known among mankind." If these two or three sentences of the work could be made to stand out in sufficient prominence, we should not anticipate any harm from its most extended circulation at the eve of the ensuing election, since it does, upon every principle of common sense, make all the rest of the publication nonsense: for if, under this system of influence, such as it has been in its actual exercise, we have for a century and a quarter possessed the "best system of liberty that the world ever enjoyed," what absolute need can there be of a total, or indeed, any change in our representative system; and what need have we to call in the Hampden Club to reform us; or, lastly, how are we to believe that this writer himself knows what he means, or intends what he says, in his dedication to this ridiculous aggregation of self-assured beings, that "the inequality of representation is by far the worst feature of that complicated wrong by which the liberty and property of the nation are given into the hands of the borough faction." Upon Mr. Oldfield's own statement, it appears that in whatever hands our liberty has been placed, it has been in excellent keeping, since it has continued since the revolution to be "the best system of liberty that the world has ever known."

For our own parts, we are satisfied that our constitution, in its present form and practical state, *works well*, and that, however irreconcileable it may be to the *à priori* reasonings of the grave men now engaged in proving the necessity of change, it has done its business effectually. We look not for it in a well-adjusted balance of powers, correcting each other by their opposite tendencies, without intermixture or confusion,—a specious theory, and not altogether untrue—but we turn our eyes to the great floor, the Commons' House of Parliament, and we are glad to find that where the springs of government are fixed, and the arm of the lever is stationed, the King and the nobles have a share in the action imparted to the machine;—that all orders of the community are there virtually present;—that, according to the words of the preamble to the Bill of Rights, it lawfully, fully, and freely, represents *all the estates* of the people of this realm.

With respect to the quantity of influence that may safely exist in an active state, it is very constitutionally wise to regard it al-

ways as a subject of jealous inquiry and cautious restraint; but it is impossible, on any general principle, to determine the limitation or degree. Scarcely a man so foolish is to be found as to deny that some there must be; but the problem of *how much* is only to be solved by the sagacity which experience produces. One advantage it has—that of being a moral subject, and by its nature obsequious in a certain degree to public sentiment; always liable, on being too far urged, to the reaction of opinion, and amenable to the constant check of a free press and zealous spirit of inquiry. Another advantage it also has—that of being in some measure, perhaps in a greater measure than has commonly been observed, the offspring of those very conjunctures which requires its exertion, and so constituted as to rise and fall in a degree somewhat proportioned to the temporary sacrifices which may be called for by the crises of the state. We have had some reason of late years to know that, without this auxiliary by its side, no government could have sustained that continuance of effort which has crowned with glory a struggle for life. Preparations on so vast a scale were accompanied by a proportionate expansion of influence; but no reasonable and honest man contends that there was any safety but in victory, or that victory was attainable without perseverance, or that perseverance was possible amidst temporary suffering, popular clamour, and the arts of the ambitious or disaffected, without the sustaining force of that extraordinary influence which the extraordinary exigence supplied. To increase this influence by purposely increasing the burthens and sacrifices of the nation, would never occur to a minister that loves his elevation; since it is clear to the commonest capacity that all such temporary influence is much more than counterbalanced by the permanent loss on the side of popularity; and it is impossible for any minister not to see that the broad influence of character and ability must after all be the basis on which alone a durable power can be erected.

In estimating, moreover, the danger of the influence of the crown, it is important to have regard to the degree in which an antagonist influence may exist in the country. There is a sort of set-off to it in the opulence, the education, the eloquence, and the artifices, enlisted and marshalled in opposition to the ordinary and necessary measures of the executive government. It is much to be doubted, whether the influence of the crown, which has certainly increased greatly within the last half century, has yet kept pace with the increasing weight which a multitude of causes have thrown into the popular scale. Wealth, education, intelligence, and the consequent diffusion of political inquiry, mark the improved condition of the people, and are to be hailed as the indications of our national prosperity; but they do not

facilitate the course of government, or enable it to dispense with any of its accustomed collateral supports. It is true that the increase of wealth, and the habits it induces, have a natural tendency to lay the mind open to corrupt influence, and to dispose men to sell themselves for preferment; but this is only within the circle which the means of influence can embrace; among the far greater proportion of those who are raised into an atmosphere of new wants and appetites by the diffusion of wealth, a captious spirit of discontent, an irritable and envious feeling towards all authority not exercised by themselves, a disposition to disturb, to traverse, to torment, and to defame the great, the glorious, and even the good, in elevated station and function, are the ordinary returns of our corrupt nature to the Divine source of our felicity. An active mind in the people requires a wakeful attention in government to the sources of its efficiency, and the means of its preservation. That intelligence which is observed to be increasing among the people at large is never characterized in its application to the principles of a mixed government by those mixed regards which the nature of the subject demands: history, and experience, and practical results, are not the media through which they contemplate the great process of government, and the moral frame of our civil polity: they see only parts of the system detached, uncombined, and as they appear in their immediate effects, and of those effects they may generally be allowed to possess a quick and accurate feeling; but in reasoning from these parts to the whole, the diffused intelligence of which we have been speaking is sure to be the source of crude speculation and superficial temerity. It gives a dangerous activity and bias to physical force, and places it more at the disposal of men of bad designs. Upon the whole, therefore, though these remarks are not offered as objections to the adoption of every means of improving the mass of the people in the lowest grades,—properly grounded, proportioned, and directed, we care not how copiously instruction is administered —yet in reference to this great question of influence, we cannot doubt that a necessity has arisen out of the improved condition of the country, for a larger measure of it to maintain the effective administration of the executive government.

The error or the malice of some of our modern writers* on the nature and principles of government is this, that they are always looking to the elements of power, and delighting in naked questions of competency, which presently bring them to their favourite theorem, that the government is really in the people, and that kings and their ministers are only their organs and in-

* See Edinb. Rev. No. XL. p. 325, et seq.

struments. This in a large and philosophical sense may be true enough; monarchs, and magistrates, and statesmen, and legislators, have only the natural powers of body and mind by which they can as individuals act or determine; what other powers they have are derivative and borrowed, and may be taken away by the people if they combine to do it. But what advantage is to be obtained from thus perpetually recurring in our speculations to the magazine of original power, and reasoning from possibilities rather than existences we do not understand. We think it best and safest to put mere human force, and the muscular privilege of the numerical majority, out of contemplation, and to consider civil society as under a new hypothetical arrangement, in which physical power is placed under the appointments of a moral dispensation. In our own government, we are sure it is the safest and the wisest theory to consider the monarch as bearing a rightful hereditary sceptre, the nobility as having right to their honours quite independent of the people; and the natural powers of the multitude, as merged in their civil and social relations. We apprehend that it can never be necessary for practical purposes to go to the first elements of society, and ascertain the origin and source of power. We have now only to do with its modifications and distribution in the organized scheme of our constitutional liberties; and it is in this view that we recognize the value of a system of mutual checks. The whole theory of our constitution, as it arises out of experience, thus easily unfolds itself to our view; and the necessity for such a degree of influence in the crown as may prevent either democracy or aristocracy from acquiring an undue ascendency, is distinctly understood;—a state of things almost as good as the "*sole remedy in principle for our most prominent grievances*," recommended by Mr. Bentham, "the *democratic ascendency*." The patronage and the influence of the crown is, after all, very considerable; but before it is pronounced to be excessive, it should be inquired whether it is capable of carrying any point against the fixed and decided sentiments of the people. That its exercise is restrained within this salutary boundary, is apparent from the issue of recent contests, in some of which the crown has been personally interested.

In considering the state of legislative representation in this country, we really do think that the great question to be resolved is, whether through a long course of experience it has answered the ends proposed by it. Are we morally and politically high or low in the scale of nations? Are we stationary, or in a course of rapid improvement? In commercial and military undertakings, what have been our spirit and success? In philosophy and the arts, what our comparative progress? In the freedom, the gran-

deur, the sobriety of religious worship and instruction, what has been the character of our laws and establishments? What have been the consequences of our victories to the world,—restoration or spoliation, oppression or redemption from chains? Is justice, civil and criminal, administered with integrity? Are the poor an object of solicitude to the state, and are our charitable institutions in correspondence with the wealth of the country? Is the security of person and property respected, is the law equal, is speech unfettered, and is the press free? If this nation can return an answer to these questions, which no other nation under heaven can give, and every object comprised in them is still in a train of improvement or correcter and more perfect enjoyment, except when the sowers of sedition raise obstacles in the path of this felicity, the great question then recurs—whether a system of practical polity, under which all the advantages at which society aims, has been in a course of unparalleled progression and enlargement, and which at the Revolution was pronounced by the great men whose intellects were then engrossed with the question, to be a lawful, and full, and free representation of all the estates of the people of this realm, and which Mr. Oldfield himself,* and greater men than even Mr. Oldfield, have pronounced to be "the best system of liberty that was ever known in the world," to be turned into something the reverse of what it is, because Mr. Bentham boasts his nostrum of "democratic ascendency," because the Edinburgh Reviewers remind us that a king is nothing but a composition of mind and muscle, because Mr. Roscoe tells us that the machinery of the state may be changed in analogy to the machinery of a manufactory, and that a reform bill may be passed and carried into effect as easily as a turnpike bill;† or because the clamour of ignorance is knocking at the doors of parliament, at the instigation of noisy, unprincipled men?

Mr. Oldfield writes upon the "representative history" of Great Britain and Ireland, and of the representative system we took him to be really enamoured in the pure form in which it displays itself to his imagination, for in the outset of his magniloquous preface he pronounces "the representative system to be as ancient as the establishment of civil society in the world." But in page 160 of his first volume, he remarks of the Commons, in the times to which he is alluding, and which appear by the context to be those of the Saxons, that "in ancient writs they were called deputies." And then he proceeds to say that "Hume tells us, he (Edward I.) issued writs to the sheriffs to send to parliament two *deputies* from each borough within their county, provided with sufficient powers to consent in their name to

* Vol. I. p. 364. † See Letter to Henry Brougham, Esq. p. 5.

what he and his council should require of them; as what concerns all should be approved of by all. A noble principle! which may seem to indicate a liberal mind, if it had been honestly adhered to. There are instances recorded, that when new matter was proposed by the King, the deputies replied they could not consider the subject without returning to the country to receive fresh instructions. It was not till later times, when they had manifested themselves worthy of no trust whatever, that they assumed the name, and arrogated the powers of representatives."

Now whether this writer only arrogates, or really possesses "the powers of a representative" of the body of reformers in this country we know not, but here is a pretty explicit renunciation of the representative system altogether. And we think he has in some measure redeemed his consistency in so doing, for nothing can reconcile a representative system with universal suffrage in the election of members of parliament but an universal confusion of ideas. We can easily comprehend the function of a deputy, as that above alluded to, always upon wheels, or upon the tramp, between the House and his constituents, upon every hard question, raking up the sense of the community from its miry bottom, carrying back the instructions of paupers on the complex subject of their own management, and the prevailing opinion of peasants and artisans on the expediency of taxation in general. But a representation of these descriptions of persons there can be none, except in as much as their interests are included in the moral faculty and feeling of the virtuous and cultivated portion of the population. A numerical representation is absolute nonsense; all that can be done is to take off an impression of that which alone has unity, body, and consistency, the leading opinions of men of thought. The people can neither be numerically represented, nor can the elected represent individually. The real representation is in the whole house; and whether this collective representation is sufficient or not depends upon the question whether it is a sufficiently broad specimen of the prevalent feeling, character, and mind, of the country; or, in other terms, in the terms of the preamble to the Bill of Rights, are "all the estates (*i. e.* orders, classes, and degrees) of the people of the realm" represented? The representation can only be virtual; and to be so constituted as not only to bring the mind and intelligence of the whole country into operation, but to bring all its various interests, habits, talents, ranks, stations, and functions under contribution to its moral and intellectual fund, and at the same time to place them under the range of its supervision, it must remain accessible by all the various avenues through which all these various denominations of persons may

find their way to it. By far the least valuable portion of this great body are those who are brought to it upon the shoulders of the mob; and yet we would by no means have these excluded: even the present members for Westminster have their use in the general texture of the diversified fabric.

But we shall find very little consideration of all these complexional, and local, and habitual peculiarities and varieties under the mechanical and numerical plan of Mr. Oldfield;—not quite his own, indeed, being the great and only scheme of election uniformly proposed as the substitute for the present by all the *enlightened* upon this subject. He proposes 'that the number of houses in Great Britain, amounting, according to the house tax, to twelve hundred thousand, should be divided into their ancient assemblies of ten, to be denominated after their original term of tithings. Ten of these tithings are to form the hundred court; and ten of these hundreds again are to form the court of the thousand, and two thousand to form the elective number to choose a representative for parliament. This mode, he concludes, would ensure a system of representation perfectly fair and equal, founded on the ancient practical constitution of the country. Should the plan for universal suffrage be adopted, the same system would be equally practicable, though on a more extended basis.' (Vol. i. p. 47, 48.) And we collect from a subsequent passage what this writer thinks concerning the proper extension of the qualification;

"In support of personal right it is contended, that every one has what may be called property; every man has life, personal liberty, character, a right to his earnings, a right to his religious profession and worship according to his conscience, &c.; and many men who are in a state of dependence upon others, and who receive charity, have yet wives and children, in whom they have a right. Thus the poor are liable to be injured by the government in a variety of ways. According to the commonly received doctrine, that servants and those who receive alms have no right to vote for members of parliament, an immense multitude of people are deprived of all power to determine who shall be the protectors of their lives, their personal liberty, their little property (which though, singly considered, is of small value, yet is, in the aggregate, a great object), and the virtue of their wives and daughters. That which is peculiarly hard upon the poor in this case is that, though they have no share in determining who shall be the lawgivers of their country, they have a heavy share in raising the taxes which support its government. The taxes on malt, beer, leather, soap, candles, and other articles, which are paid chiefly by the poor, who are allowed no vote for members of parliament, are equal in amount to a heavy land tax. The landed interest would complain grievously if they had no power of electing representatives; and it is in free states an established maxim, that whoever contributes to the expenses of government, ought to be

satisfied concerning the application of the money contributed by him, and consequently ought to have a share in electing those who have power over its application." (Oldfield, vol. iii. p. 4, 5.)

There is something very diverting in the whinings and whimperings of this political philanthropist over the case of paupers and menial servants who "are deprived of all power, by this exclusion from their share in the legislation, of protecting the virtue of their wives and daughters." We should be sorry to say any thing which might be construed into disrespect or want of consideration for the ladies of these families; but on the general scheme of arithmetical classification, and humane extension of the franchise which the above passage recommends, we will observe, first, that to this extent the franchise must be carried, if we mean to hear no more of unequal representation and parliamentary reform; and that even after an expansion so liberal as to take the sense of those who never think, we should still be liable to the reproach of leaving out the fair sex, whose virtue, according to Mr. Oldfield, is so connected with the right of suffrage, and so properly under the surveillance and political gallantry of the legislature.

Those who contend for natural equality should be prepared to go all the length of the principle. To make property, or even contribution to rates and assessments, a qualification, is in utter inconsistency with the notion. On the footing of natural right, all are entitled but those under natural disability; the natural equality of the man without sixpence in his pocket stands most in need of protection: poverty is privilege, and ignorance is strength: in this naked system of political ethics the order of preference is in some degree inverted, distinctions become retrograde, dignity descends, and power is sown in weakness. Every arrangement short of laying the thing entirely open, and carrying representation down to the dregs of the community, will be an infringement of the right to which, on the principles of the ultimate reformists, every man is born. And this latitude in the recognition of the right has moreover the great merit of simplicity; since, if in the work of reform shades of qualification are admitted, the modifications become infinite, and scarcely two men are found to agree upon the subject. There is no reasonable hope, therefore, of producing general content, or of silencing the orators of Palace-yard by any reduction of the standard of qualification, unless the "mutable rank-scented many" to whom these orators address themselves were to be fully restored to that which this book calls their birth-right. But then there stands this difficulty in the way of universal suffrage, that it is not possible to bring it to pass. It may be given, but it will not, it cannot be exercised. It may exist in name, but it cannot in effect. The

condition of man, especially that of social man, is under an appointment, which no artificial arrangements, or coercing methods, can overrule. It is impossible to give any permanent advantage to numerical over moral strength. Knowledge, and wealth, and talent, will always be disturbing the economy of such a distribution. Men can not be dealt with as counters: dispose them how you will, the tendencies of natural inequality will soon turn them into figures standing for more or less according to their places in the table. No force of human contrivance can associate independence with extreme poverty: will and want will soon enter into compromise, and the birth-right of the hungry will soon be exchanged for a mess of pottage, although it were made clearer than the noon-day sun that the genealogy of the privilege is deducible from the Saxon Wittenagemote. The inference is this, that every vote given to a man who lives by the labour of his hands, from day to day, in poverty and dependence, is a vote given to some great proprietor in land, or merchandize, or money, in addition to his own. According to Mr. Oldfield's statement in his representative history of the counties, all the tenantry, though some little property they must have to qualify them to vote, are more or less under the dominion of the great proprietors among whom the land is divided; what freedom then in the exercise of their suffrages could be expected from those who depend for the subsistence of the day upon alms, or manual labour? The calculations from experience must be wholly fallacious if the disproportionate aggrandizement of the wealthy, and the depression of the smaller properties, which are the stamina of the state, would not be the speedy consequence of this endeavour to diffuse Mr. Bentham's benison of "democratic ascendency."

In this way of examining the subject, we arrive at the solution of the apparently strange conduct of *some* of our nobility and wealthy capitalists, who, with the consequences above alluded to full in sight, have not been quite such bad calculators as they might to some have seemed to be, in maintaining the right of the lowest of the people to the elective franchise. They have had wit enough to anticipate, not democratic, but aristocratic ascendency in raising mendicity and indigence to a level with property and independence. They are practically acquainted with this theorem in our constitutional polity, that the more diffusively below the point of independence the franchise is bestowed, the more contracted will be the bounds of representation. They know that there is no such thing as numerical worth, numerical representation, numerical election; that a man's virtues and abilities are not arithmetically commensurate with the number of his nominal constituents, and that neither

dignity nor security in political calculation accord with an is ratio of physical aggregation or force: they know too they they lie when they babble about their tenderness for the people's rights, and they know full well that the suffrage will converge, while it seems to diverge; that if given to the dependent population, it is in effect given to themselves; that the constituent body by this increase of its extent will merge all the little independent estates, and then resign its massy and momentous power into the hands of those who can command employment and dispense subsistence. A system of representation, more close by many degrees than that borough system so loudly complained of, would soon arise out of this plausible scheme; and that middle body which, by its present weight and influence, prevents the collision of discordant elements, which serves as the reconciling medium by which distant things are softened into relation, which is the best recipient of political truth, which is the natural place of virtue and intelligence, which is least liable to impose or be imposed upon, where liberty, disturbed and oscillating, and trembling at its extremities, finds a central repose, a moral hold and stay amidst the restless agitations of factious wealth, and prostitute indigence,—all this moral medium of equipoise and stability would vanish from the political scene, and leave society a stage of contest between rival opulence, ambition, and abuse. But even this state of things could not long endure. These great men and their low friends would inevitably fall out. Major Cartwright and Mr. Cobbett, and men of their description, would not allow the people, with their present taste for an agrarian distribution, to forget their physical strength amidst their moral degradation; and the immediate and constant contact between the high and low would probably end in mutual contempt, mutual contagion, mutual alarm, and common ruin.

Universal suffrage, and an universal community of goods, terms which stand upon a common basis of folly, and have more practical agreement than some of our short-sighted nobility perceive, and the friends of "democratic ascendency" will allow, are neither of them possible to be in effective existence; the common people could not use the one, or hold the other; the one would sell itself to the best bidder, the other would run into new masses of accumulation; but the tendency of each of these doctrines is as violent as vain; impotent to create, but effective to destroy; and as the road to ruin would be the same to both, the probability is that they would shake hands by the way, join in the plunder, riot in the spoil, together destroy the sources both of power and subsistence, and die the victims of credulity and vice, amidst waste and want, excess and inanition.

We are quite satisfied that the suffrage in the hands of the poor not only could not be employed to their own advantage, but must necessarily slip from them, and fall under the direction of those standing at the farthest remove from them, and having the least in common with them of natural and civil regards; and we are of opinion that we have as good a House of Commons as any system of parliamentary representation could give us. We cannot but think too, that any approaches to what is called a full representation of the people would fail in removing a particle of the present discontent or clamour on the subject. The minds of the multitude have been too long amused with visions of equality to acquiesce in any thing short of the restitution of their full original complement of rights; such as they have been told were theirs till they lost them, nobody knows how or when; and if their whole demand were obtained, to the extent of giving the right of suffrage to every man in the country, adult and sane, discontent would be as loud as ever while the taxes remained, while the revenues of the church continued to be raised, and while the public creditor had his claims upon the public enforced. Something might be sacrificed to the object of general tranquillity and satisfaction; but the public would not *be* better for any latitude given to the right of election, nor would they *think* themselves better.

Under these circumstances it seems very foolish to stir, and undo and discompose what has been established, has been tried, and has been found to answer. The end of good government is to make the people happy, and wealthy, and powerful, and susceptible of expansion and improvement. The system of polity is good from which good is derived, and under which happiness breeds and propagates, till life teems with beneficence and virtue. In such a case, no theory is worth a thought which does not flow from the facts themselves,—which is not extracted from the bowels of experience. It may systematise that out of which it springs; it may even renovate its decays, and correct its aberrations; just as in works of taste, art first draws from nature, and then reforms, and improves, and adorns her, by the application of her own rules. But to attempt to reform our constitution by foreign rules, rules derived *à priori*, rules of general theory, and where the means have only an argumentative and philosophical fitness to their ends, is to proceed in an order the reverse of that by which, since the days of alchymy, and the dreams of the schools, learning and science have been promoted, and the landmarks of the human understanding have been made to advance upon the domains of nature and truth.

It is the misfortune of this subject to be treated as a question of principle rather than expedience, and as a problem involving a

mere abstract truth, rather than as one in which the solution is found in the passions, the wants, and the weaknesses of ordinary humanity. Our constitution is looked upon as a building in which exterior grace is every thing, and internal accommodation nothing. An architect glowing with the classic principles of his art may be for knocking away all the buttresses and supports from the outside, and simplifying all the complex arrangements for convenience in the interior: under such hands the building may, indeed, be made to look fair and sightly; but for business, hospitality, and repose, it becomes wholly unfit, and every concussion of the elements exposes its want of solidity. But we are sensible we concede much in allowing any exterior grace to the propositions of reform; they are for the most part conceived in bad taste, and replete with incongruities. Mr. Jeremy Bentham holds a very oracular place among those who call loudest for a reform of parliament, and has some of the pleasantest ideas upon the subject; but it will, we think, be found, upon a near view of his publication of "A Plan of Parliamentary Reform in the Form of a Catechism," which we have placed at the top of this article, that a Venus has not arisen from the froth of his speculations, or a Minerva from his teeming brain.

"Talk of *mixture*—yes, this *may* serve, and *must* serve:—but then, the intrinsically noxious ingredients—the ingredients which must be kept in, though for no better reason than that we are used to them—, and being so used to them, could not bear—(for who is there that could bear?)—to part with them—these ingredients—of which the greatest praise would be that they were inoperative—must not be in any such proportion of force, as to destroy, or materially to impair, the efficiency of the only essentially useful one.

"Talk of *balance*, never will it do: leave that to Mother Goose and Mother Blackstone. Balance—balance—politicians upon roses—to whom, to save the toil of thinking—on questions most wide in extent, and most high in importance—an allusion—an emblem—an anything—so as it has been accepted by others, is accepted as conclusive evidence—what mean ye by this your *balance?* Know ye not, that in a machine of any kind, when forces *balance* each other, the machine is at a stand?—Well, and in the machine of government, immobility—the perpetual absence of all motion—is that the thing which is wanted? Know ye not that—since an emblem you must have—since you can neither talk, nor attempt to think, but in hieroglyphics—know you not that, as in the case of the body *natural*, so in the case of the body *politic*, when motion ceases, the body dies?

"So much for the *balance:* now for the *mixture:*—the mixture to which, as such, such virtue is wont to be ascribed. Here is a form of government, in which the power is divided among three interests:—the interest of the great body of the people—of the *many*—and two separate interests—the interest of the *one* and the interest of the *few*—both of which are adverse to it:—two separate and narrow interests, neither

of which is kept on foot—but at the expense, to the loss, and by the sacrifice, of the broader interest. This form of government (say you) has its advantages.—Its advantages?—compared with what?—Compared with those forms of government, in which the people have no power at all, or in which, if they have any, they have not so much?—Oh yes: with any such form of government for an object of comparison, its *excellence* is unquestionable. But, compare it with a form of government in which the interest of the people is the only interest that is looked to:—in which neither a single man, with a separate and adverse interest of his own, nor a knot of men with a separate and adverse interest of their own, are to be found;—where no interest is kept up at the expense, to the loss, by the sacrifice, of the universal interest to it,—where is *then* the *excellence?*

"Nay but (says somebody) in the form of government in question, what the *supreme*—the *universal* power is—is a compound—a mixture of the three *powers* corresponding to the three *interests:* what the *excellence* produced by it is in—not any one of the three ingredients taken by itself: no—it is the *mixture.* Take away any one of the three masses of power, the mixture is changed: the excellence is diminished:—take away two of them, mixture has place no longer:—the excellence vanishes.

"Good:—this notion about *mixture:*—O yes, good enough, so long as the respective natures of the several interests are kept out of sight. Look at them, and then see whether it be possible that, taking the power of the people for the *simple* substance,—by the adding to it either or both of the two other powers, and thus making a *mixture,*—any such quality as *excellence,* with reference to what belongs to the *simple* substance taken by itself, can be produced.

"A form of government, in which the interest of the whole is the only interest provided for;—in which the only power is a power having for its object the support of that interest;—in this form of government behold the *simple* substance. To this simple substance add, separately or conjunctively, a power employed in the support of the interest of one *single* person, and a power employed in the support of the interest of a comparatively *small knot* of persons:—in either of these cases you have a *mixture:*—well; compared then with the *simple* substance, when and where can be the advantages of this *mixture.*

"What? what, could man ever find to say in behalf of *monarchy,* but that monarchy is *legitimacy?* or in behalf of *aristocracy,* but that *property* is *virtue?*

"Fair questions these:—should any man feel disposed to answer them, let the answers be so too: and let them not—oh! let them not! be either imprisonment or death!

"Go to the flour-mill: get a sack of *flour,* in which there is flour, and nothing else:—make bread of it,—there you have the simple substance. In making your bread, add now to the flour some powder of *chalk,* with or without some powder of *burnt bones:* in either case you have a *mixture.* Well, in either case, so long as you do not add to the flour too much of that which is *not* flour, your bread may afford nourishment—it may give to your constitution—to the constitution of

your natural body—a support. But, from either of these two new ingredients, does this body of yours derive any nourishment? the constitution of it any support? your bread any thing that can be called by the name of *excellence?*

" Father of the *representative* system! O rare *Simon De Montfort!* thou who, in giving birth to it—without perhaps intending good to human being, save one—didst to mankind more good than ever was done by any one other mortal man! in giving birth to that most beneficent system, thou gavest birth to the only practicable democracy; to the only democracy, of which extent beyond a nutshell, or duration beyond a day, are attainable attributes!—Comes the persecution of the *Stuarts*, and democracy—representative democracy is planted in America, with nothing but monarchy to hang over it:—comes the persecution of the G——, the monarchy is now cut up:—and now the salutiferous plant, established in its own roots, cleared of every weed that had choked it, shines in all its purity,—rears and spreads itself,—with matchless, and enviable, and envied, and hated, and dreaded vigour. By the mere passing from the one country to the other, oh, what a host of plagues and miseries in detail—major each in itself, minor compared with the two capital ones—did it not leave behind! Well worth taking and holding up to view would be the list of these abuses: but, for any such task the present is no place.

" No:—*but* for the English Constitution, *democracy*, the only democracy worth the name, never could have been known. Oh rare English Constitution! there, there is thy greatest—there thy only lasting praise!

" *Balance? equality?* no: I can not say *equality*, when what I mean is *ascendency*. Palsied would be this hand—motionless this pen—if, for the first time in a life, already of some length, it were to attempt deception. Ascendency—this I do mean, nothing less: more I do not mean—indeed I do not. The Monarch may for ought I know, plunge his hangman's knife in my bowels; but I am not for " cashiering kings." The one thing needful and sufficient for the purpose—this I would have if I could: this I would have if I could, whatever were its name. More than this, not being in my view needful for the purpose, more I would not have if I could. For any more than for myself, for, for any more than myself, no title have I to speak. In speaking thus for myself, I speak what I should expect to find the sense—so long as it were the quiet sense—of a vast majority of the people—in two at least of the three kingdoms—high and low—rich and poor together. But, should the only remedy be refused, oppression continue, and exasperation rise against it, then it is not quiet sense that will speak, but exasperation: and, as to what exasperation may say or do, who is there that can undertake to measure it?" (Bentham, p. li—lvi.)

After this insane stuff, and a great deal more of the same sort, involving the cause of radical reform, may we not say of reform altogether, in a degree of ridicule so much the greater, as this author seems to write with an honesty of feeling which belongs to but few of his party in opinion, surely we may aver that our awkward

and ill-proportioned system, with all its excrescences, worts, and protuberances, will stand a comparison with this finished draught of Mr. Bentham's creation. We remember a turn of expression used by Burns, the Scottish poet, in relation to a clumsy, strong-minded man of his acquaintance, which is not altogether unsuitable to this ill-made constitution of ours, "it has a strong knock-knee'd sort of a soul." To the question put by the author to Mr. Wilberforce, in page 197 of his work, "Say, Mr. Wilberforce, how long shall a state of things like this be looked upon with no other than a smiling and admiring countenance? How long shall reform, and not abuse, be the object of all fears? Just so long, possibly, Mr. Wilberforce would answer, as your plan of radical reform, gentle Sir, shall be more the object of my fears than any abuses of which you complain; just so long as I am convinced that no abuses which exist can lead to consequences so dreadful as the panacea you propose for the remedy of all abuses.

The distinctness with which Mr. Bentham feels his subject, even to the minutest hair-breadth subdivision into which its details may be laboured out, may be seen admirably exemplified in the long note which occurs in page 106; and great would be our admiration of that reader's capacity who could, from the perusal, come forth with a distinct idea of Mr. Bentham's distinctness. We have already introduced so large an extract from this work, for the sake of presenting a pretty average specimen of what we have found it utterly impossible to explain, that we cannot afford room for the whole note, but we cannot resist the temptation to exhibit a portion of it, to show that, besides the innumerable varieties and degrees included under the notion of moderate reform, radical reform has also its shades of radicality, and from Sir Francis Burdett to Major Cartwright, from Major Cartwright to Mr. Bentham, and from Mr. Bentham to Mr. Cobbett, passes through a succession of grades, from the moderate to radical radicality, which last degree bears some sort of analogy to what the chemists call their hyper-oxymuriatic acid gas. Behold, then, the promised portion of this most delectable passage:

"Such, at any rate in my own view, it cannot fail to be: for in this state, for a long course of years, was my own mind:—the object a dark, and thence a hideous phantom, until, elicited by severe and external pressure, the light of *reason*—or, if this word be too assuming, the light of *ratiocination*—was brought to bear upon it. In the *Plan* itself may be seen at what period (viz. anno 1809), fearful of going further—embracing the occasion of finding, in *derivative* judgment, an exterior support—I was not only content, but glad, to stop at the degree of extension indicated by the word *householders*;—taking at the same time for conclusive evidence of *householdership*, the fact of having paid

direct taxes. But, the more frequently my mind has returned itself upon the subject—the more close the application made to it—the more minute the anxiety with which every niche and cranny has been pryed into—the stronger has been the persuasion produced,—that, even from an extent as unbounded as that which would have been given to the principle by the vigorous, and laborious, and experienced mind of the *Duke of Richmond* (always with the proviso, that, by that secrecy,—which, somehow or other he could not bear to look in the face,—freedom should be secured) no mischief, no danger, in any such shape as that which is denoted by the words *anarchy* or *equalization*, i. e. *destruction* of property, would ensue: in a word, not any the smallest defalcation from any rights, but those which are universally acknowledged to be mere *trust-rights*—rights, the exercise of which ought to be directed to the advancement—not of the separate interests of him to whom they are intrusted, but of the joint and universal interest.

"Tranquillized, on the other hand, by the persuasion—that, although, by defalcation after defalcation, very considerable reduction were made in respect of *extent*, still no very determinate and distinguishable defalcation might be made from the beneficent influence of the *universal-interest-comprehension principle*,—and that, by every extension obtained, the way could be smoothed to any such ulterior extension, the demand for which should, in the continued application of that principle, guided by the experience of security, under the experienced degree of extension, have found its due support,—with little regret, considering the subject in a theoretical point of view, and altogether without regret, considering it with a view to *conciliation*, and in that sense *in* a practical point of view,—thus it was that without difficulty I found I could accede to the extent indicated by the words *householders*, or *direct-tax-paying* householders: due regard being at the same time paid to the arrangements prescribed by the *simplification* principle, as above." (Bentham, p. cvi, cvii.)

The reader will have observed the surprise insinuated in the above passage, at the aversion entertained by the Duke of Richmond to the secret process of election by ballot, a very favourite part of Mr. Bentham's plan, but concerning which there is a great discordancy of opinion among our alchymists of reform. Mr. Bentham, as well as Major Cartwright, have both been properly sensible that the vote by ballot, called in the volume now before us "secrecy of suffrage," was indispensable to their plan; as it was but too plain, that, to extend the right to the baser part of the community, was but to increase the quantity of what Mr. Bentham, with his usual philosophical intrepidity of expression, denominates the *matter of corruption*, unless the votes could by some contrivance be rendered valueless to the parties bestowing them; and the effectual way of doing this appeared to be by adopting the method by ballot. It is rather remarkable that, with the vital importance of this secret method of voting to

his system of universal suffrage, full in his mind, as being the proper security for the "undangerousness" of that remedy, Mr. Bentham should have adverted, with some degree of naiveté, to the "entire and assured secrecy" with which the votes under such a shelter might indulge propensities which he dared not avow, and sacrifice public good to private feelings, or interests, or spleen. But it was absolutely necessary that Mr. Bentham should justify the secret operation of the ballot, or his whole scheme was infallibly lost—lost certainly, by his own direct confession in page 174, wherein he admits that, under "the system of publicity," as he terms it, the subsistence, the very existence of the pauper-voter would depend upon the local magistracy. "Think," says he, "of the proportion borne by those who are already in a state of pauperism to those who are not yet fallen into that disastrous state. This vast part of the democracy would be completely in the hands of the removeable nominees of the crown." But alas! this necessary constituent of the moderately radical system of the acute Mr. Bentham is but ill received among honest men, and even among some of the most radical of radical reformers. The Duke of Richmond, in his celebrated letter to Colonel Sharman, thus delivers his opinion on the eligibility of the ballot form. "With regard to the question, if voting by ballot is advisable? I am clearly of opinion that it is not. The idea of a ballot can have arisen but to avoid the effect of some improper influence; and I conceive it much more noble directly to check that influence than indirectly to evade it by concealment and deceit. I am convinced that trivial circumstances, in things like these, tend greatly to form the national character; and it is most consistent with that of a British or Irish freeman, that all his actions should be open and avowed, and that he should not be ashamed of declaring, in the face of his country, whom he wishes to intrust with its interests. Upon the same idea that ballots may be a cover for independence, they must be also a cloak for bribery, and a school for lying and deceit." It is ridiculous in the extreme to imagine that the ballot would prevent canvassing; and while canvassing goes on, promises must be interchanged; and we have only next to ask, how would those promises be performed? The current of venality would be but little checked, and the streams of hypocrisy and insincerity would spread themselves over the land.

Respecting the legislatures in America, of the happy and honourable state of which, in almost every other page of his work, Mr. Jeremy Bentham speaks in terms of such unmeasured praise, Lord Selkirk, in his letter, addressed to Major Cartwright, on the subject of parliamentary reform, declares that, 'from the observations which his Lordship had had occasion to make in the

United States of America, where a system of representation was established, approaching as nearly as perhaps was practicable to the theoretical perfection in the Major's contemplation, and where that system was combined with a general diffusion of property, of itself calculated in a great degree to check the force of corruption, he had been convinced that universal suffrage and frequency of election had proved no bar to the misconduct of representatives; and that a political adventurer, raised to power by popular favour, was full as likely to abuse that power as the purchaser of a rotten borough.' His Lordship continued to remark, that there was no ground for the idea that, in that country, public affairs were managed with a higher regard to public welfare than in our own. 'The Parliament of England, with all its corruptions, could not be accused of proceedings, approaching in disgrace to the infamous and bare-faced jobs which have been transacted in many of the legislatures of America.'

Annual parliaments is another most important feature of this grand catholic system of reform. To us it would be sufficiently odious as favouring what this high German doctor of the state, Mr. Jeremy Bentham, calls his "sole remedy in principle, *democratic ascendency*," that fetid drug of sovereign efficacy in setting afloat all the humours of the body politic; but we doubt its effect in producing this delectable predicament of "democratic ascendency," it would certainly perpetuate tumult and disorder to the utmost extent that could be wished; but its more probable constitutional evil would be the aristocratic ascendency of wealth; for what small proprietor, or man of mediocrity, could enter into annual contest with the man of great estate, or the princely proprietor of mills, or mines, or founderies. If votes become of little value, men will have little respect for their votes; and instead of being the object of intrigue or canvass, of interest or favour, the consideration of each exercise of the franchise among the persons of saleable conscience would probably soon settle into a stated money price, the value perhaps of a day's drunkenness, and dereliction of home and duty. We are not altogether sure whether these annual parliaments might not become perennial, by beating competition out of the market; neither are we sure that they would not become ephemeral; of this we *are* sure, that nobody could calculate, or with any assurance foretell, the final catastrophe of these "arrangements for general confusion."

Before the triennial law of King William's reign we had long parliaments, because parliaments were indefinite. One of these long parliaments destroyed legitimate authority, the other legal liberty, for which reason it became necessary to fix the term of duration, and it seemed good to the wisdom of that day to fix it to three years. The great men whom we are now reviewing

think very differently from the great men of that momentous period. Our great reformists altogether deny the right of the representatives to alter the duration of parliaments; they claim the restoration of a system as old as civil society; or at least as old as records retrace the history of our constitution. Lord Somers, and the great men of the Revolution, considering the people as only capable of exerting their moral strength through their representatives, and the representation sufficient, as it stood, for all purposes of renewal and establishment, considering, too, that the sovereign power and spring of regeneration must be held to reside somewhere, and that it could only reside in a state of efficiency in the parliament as it then was constituted, instead of losing themselves in metaphysical questions of competency, proceeded with their work, and saved the country. Soon after this great event parliaments were enacted to be triennial; and by the same right, the sovereign right, which must somewhere live, and breathe, and act in every state or commonwealth, the duration of parliaments was lengthened to seven years in the beginning of the reign of George I. The septennial act had the same foundation as the triennial act; it was an amendment of that law, with the same end in view, of fixing the duration of parliaments; its corrective purpose with respect to the triennial law was the prevention of an eternal canvass.

But we are told by our reformists that annual parliaments are as old as the creation of our constitution, and that by the law of Edward I. (a declaratory law, to be sure; for if adopted as the foundation of the right, then the question of competency is given up, and more than given up,) parliaments were decreed to be holden annually or oftener if need may be. The whole is quibble and perversion. Before the reign of Edward III. annual parliaments, says Bishop Burnet, were in no sense a part of our constitution. They did never before that time exist in practice, nor is there any thing in the facts of history to show that they had any fixed duration at all. This is so historically clear as to need no illustration. The words of the 4th Edward I. c. 14 are these "Ensement est accorde que parliament soit tenu chescun an une foitz ou plus si mestier soit." It is accorded that a parliament shall be holden every year once, or oftener if need be; not that a parliament shall be elected, but that a parliament shall be holden once, that is, meet once, in every year, or oftener if need be. And in confirmation of this natural construction we add that no one instance can be produced in the whole compass of our history of an *ipso facto* dissolution of the parliament at the end of the year from its election. Nor does it appear in any one instance that, though the King's authority has often put an abrupt end to the existence of the

parliament before it has lived through a year, that when parliament has exceeded its year, such protraction of its date has been treated as an infringement of the constitution by any general expression of national complaint. Parliaments, or national councils, were, in early times, of short duration, ephemeral, annual, indefinite according to the exigency. The business was short, the matters of discussion few and simple, and the sittings commensurate. Times, occurrences, and situations, varied the number and duration of the sessions; and after the popular part of our constitution became happily more defined, and momentous, and independent, parliaments sat till dissolved; and such was their habit, till, in the auspicious year of the Revolution, an act was passed, which made the term of three years from their election the limited period of their existence, and the end of that period an *ipso facto* dissolution of that body. So much for annual parliaments, and universal suffrage, and secret election by ballot, or, to use the sublime language of Mr. Bentham, so much for the universal-interest-comprehension principle, the simplification principle, the universal suffrage-plan, the virtually universal-suffrage plan, the secrecy of suffrage-plan, with their appropriate intellectual aptitudes, and appropriate active talent, remedies in principle, remedies in detail and all other remedies against universal-personal-destroying security acts, universal gagging acts, liberty of the press-destroying statutes, judge-made-*ex-post-facto* laws, universal-popular-destroying-communication acts, petition rejecting and hope-extinguishing decisions, and orders and resolutions.—We take leave once for all, for we never can again return to it, of all this nauseating stuff, this dismal cant, and this delirious nonsense.

We are unwilling again to recur to Mr. Oldfield, of whom, and whose opinions, our readers have probably by this time had quite enough; but, that the spirit in which this gentleman writes may be the better known, for it is the spirit of the whole radically reforming tribe, and of many of those who come daintily forth in the garb of moderation, we will point to a few passages of this author which appear to be most in character.

"Whatever," says this wise man, "tends to the debasement of religion, diminishes political authority, and weakens the sanction of civil government" (vol. i. p. 484); but observe that the opposition to Mr. Beaufoy's motion for obtaining a repeal of the corporation and test acts, is the debasement of which he complains, and which draws from him this fine defence of the *civil* importance of religion; and that it is thus that this pious advocate for the sanctions of religion in matters of government speaks of its ministers and their proper functions in another place. "The clergy of all denominations have always made the worst use

of power, whenever it has been entrusted to them. Had it been once ascertained that they possess a right to sit in the House, a most dangerous infusion of bigotry and malignity might have been expected. Confined within their proper sphere, and teaching good morals on just principles, the clergy are, perhaps, a body of men respectable and useful." (Vol. ii. p. 122.) So that the clergy may see what *they* are to expect from our radical reformists. Mr. Burke supplies us with a wholesome caution against such observations on our clergy from a similar quarter. "It is not with much credulity that I listen to any, when they speak evil of those whom they are going to plunder. I rather suspect that vices are feigned or exaggerated, when profit is looked for in their punishment." It is thus that this good man further unfolds his meaning on this delicate subject:

"The House of Commons not finding themselves strong enough at this time desisted; but shortly after they destroyed the episcopal hierarchy, root and branch, and established presbyterianism upon the ruins of the church. Instead of this, had they taken away the church lands, and applied them to the service of the state, they would have taken away the true bone of contention. Had they destroyed all ecclesiastical power, they had destroyed an evil in the state, and abundant matter of vexation. Had they protected all men alike in their different modes of worshipping God, they would have taken away all just occasion of offence, and established peace amongst men." (Oldfield, vol. ii. p. 472.)

In p. 508 of the first volume of this great depository of the sentiments of our reformists, we find a tolerably accurate display of the view which these patriots take of the French revolution and its principles.

"The Revolution, which had by this time occurred in France, materially changed the face of affairs throughout Europe. The causes of the deposition of the French monarch, and the nature of the provocations and injuries which preceded and produced that event, not being well understood in this country, it made an impression on the minds of a great part of the people unfavorable to its principles, already perverted and biassed by the violent declamations of Mr. Burke and his partizans. The horrid massacres of September entirely alienated their minds from the Revolution, although these detestable enormities could not, in any rational sense, be said to originate in the Revolution, but arose from the opposition made to its establishment; and so much was the nation terrified at the idea of political innovation of any kind, that the name of reform became the subject of indiscriminate reprobation. Under this impression, an association, sanctioned by government, was formed in London, for the protection of liberty and property against republicans and levellers. The rage of associating spread throughout the kingdom, and resolutions were every where subscribed, expressive of loyalty and attachment to the King and Constitution, and

abhorrence of all levelling and republican doctrines. There is, as Helvetius observes, a description of men with hearts incapable of virtuous emotion, furiously enraged against every one who wishes to convulse the empire of imposture; who aim against him the very passions themselves despise, and terrify weak minds by incessant harangues on the dangers of novelty and innovation; as if truth must necessarily banish virtue out of the world; as if every thing partaking of its nature was so productive of vice, that no one can be virtuous who is not unenlightened; as if the very essential qualities of morality demonstrated this idea, and consequently that the study of this science was prejudicial to society; they wish to make the people venerate received and established prejudices, in the same manner as the Egyptians of old were kept prostrate before the sacred crocodile of Memphis." (Oldfield, vol. i. p. 505—510.)

It is very pleasant to observe how this trenchant writer disposes of Mr. Windham and Mr. Burke:—"The motion (of Mr. Flood for reform) was vehemently opposed by Mr. Windham, who had adopted all the eccentricities and elevations from the rule of right of Mr. Burke, of whom he was the *obsequious* admirer." And soon after, Mr. Burke himself is presented to us as an "eloquent madman." It must be owned, he has said the newest thing upon Mr. Pitt's character as a minister, which has yet occurred to any enemy of his memory. "His wavering and uncertain policy, so unlike that of a great statesman, is not, however, to be *entirely* attributed to a want of original genius, but was owing in part to his excessive thirst of popularity." His eulogy on Sir Francis Burdett and Lord Cochrane are in equally good taste, and in his phrase of "the lucky hand of John Felton," we see how patriotically prepared he is to look with complacency upon the adoption of summary expedients in a good cause. But let not the ladies be terrified by these symptoms of a sanguinary disposition in good Mr. Oldfield, for he is really a gallant man, like the philosopher Helvetius, from whom he seems to have borrowed some of his sentiments. Not to mention his anxiety, of which we have had already an instance, about the *virtue* of the wives and daughters of menial servants and paupers, he will appear by the following passage to take an equal interest in their innocent gratifications.

"They have engrossed within a line of their own drawing, all hares, wild fowls, and fish, as well those which are foreign, as those which are natives of this kingdom; which in their own nature, being wild and wandering, and not subject to restraint, are therefore the natural right of the first man that can catch them. But these laws have not only subverted this natural right of mankind, but established their own with a bitterness little less than cruelty; for they are guarded and defended with the same selfish spirit that the most niggardly miser would guard his treasure; so that a poor man cannot entertain his longing wife with

a gudgeon of his own catching, without being guilty of felony; or kill a partridge without fine and imprisonment." (Oldfield, vol. ii. p. 495, 496.)

We may now, we think, take leave of Messieurs the reformers Oldfield and Bentham, the great historian and the great philosopher of the sect, leaving them to contest the palm of deteriority. We are truly happy to have done with them; for we have not, since the commencement of the British Review, had a duty more thoroughly disagreeable to perform. We have felt it, however, to be a duty imposed upon us by our sincere love of our country.

"England, with all thy faults I love thee still."

At the eve of the ensuing general election, it is the duty of every man to do what he can by argument and exhortation, to prevent that fatal crisis with which these methods of improving us are pregnant; and the more so, as a confederacy appears to be formed between the defamers of our constitution and government at home; the defamers of our victories and sacrifices abroad; and the defamers of our church and its holy and heavenly services. What adds to the sacred call upon all persons worthy of the name of Britons at this awful hour to do their utmost to save the nation, and to stop the people in their career towards despotism under the semblance of enlarging that liberty which is already breaking its conservative restraints, and taking the form of wrong, and insult, and outrage, is the mad support which some amongst us, most elevated in station, are lending to the systematic attacks upon religion and its observances; forgetting that their rank and place in society have no other real or fundamental support, but well-regulated public opinion, and Christian principles of respect for social and civil appointments.

We do not hesitate to declare our firm opinion to be, deriving it from a pretty accurate and anxious course of observation, that the demoralizing attempts upon the lower orders in this country are triumphing over all the expedients in motion to diffuse the benefits of education; and that this state of things cannot long exist without a ruinous issue, unless the most vigorous efforts of counteraction are adopted. The two great means of reform are the church and the press; and those who have the patronage of the one, or power to influence the other, have a fearful account to give. In the mean time, it is a prayer which we may perhaps, without presumption, be permitted to make to the Giver of every good and perfect gift, that we and our children may be long preserved from the proffered blessings of these radical reformers of our constitution, and may rather die in the desert, in which they tell us we are sojourning, than taste the milk and honey of their promised land.

Our endeavours, however, must evince our sincerity, and can alone justify a hope of Providential interference in our behalf. The object of these endeavours must be to stay the progress of a growing contempt of the authorities of this world, and of all that concerns the preparation for the next. This is the influence which *has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished*: and it is an influence mixed up with both aristocratic and democratic *ascendency*. To check its disastrous course, or turn it backward, is that special reform which the times demand, and which cannot be too rapid or radical. Other reforms of a political kind will naturally and necessarily follow in an order consistent with that process of development which experience is carrying on, and which it is the peculiar excellence of our constitution to promote and adopt. It holds what is good till it proves what is better, maintaining a principle of preservation together with a spirit of improvement, in harmony with the prescribed course in which the best gifts of Providence are carried towards their perfection.

Art. II.—*Beppo, a Venetian Story.* 8vo. pp. 50. Murray. London, 1818.

When any new entertainment is observed to be rising fast in fashion and favour in the country, it requires to be watched a little by those who exercise any guardianship over the morals of the community, but which, except when it infects the literature of the day, does not fall under the cognizance of reviewers. Of this description is the practice of what is called *quizzing*. In its object and character, it is in the moral, not much unlike that which, in the political world, is called the levelling principle: it is by far the most effectual weapon by which virtue and decency can be assailed: it is strong in proportion to the indesert of the person using it, and the dignity of the person or thing against which it is employed. "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," are the natural game after which the quizzer is in restless pursuit. The poem before us is a very superior performance of the quizzing kind. It has a double aspect, being at once an apparent parody on Lord Byron's poetry when dressed in its best attire—the Spenser stanza; and at the same time an attack upon the charities and bonds of social life in a spirit of seeming good humour, careless scorn, and gay indecency.

As far as it can be considered as a burlesque upon Lord Byron's manner, it is harmless and happy. It detracts no more from the high claims of the original than the Battle of the Frogs has had any such effect upon the Iliad of Homer;—a comparison which such of our readers as suspect the poem before us to have really proceeded from the pen of Lord Byron himself will acknowledge to be peculiarly appropriate. And, indeed, as far as the profligacy of sentiment running through this poem of Beppo can be placed to the account of imitation and parody, it is a part of its merit; for the resemblance between the solemn banter, and epicurean sarcasm which mark every page of the Childe Harold, and the derisory ease and ironical pleasantry with which all serious things are treated in this poem of Beppo, is most successfully preserved; so successfully, indeed, that we cannot help yielding to the suspicion that these productions, both original and imitative, are by the same hand.

"None but himself could be his parallel."

If Lord Byron has been his own imitator, his task could not have been difficult; since he had little else to do than to adapt the measure and spirit of a style of poetry, in which he was so habitually conversant to villainy less heroic, and vice in its more domestic and familiar habitudes. And it is worthy of remark also how little of the charm, and vivacity, and melody of this species of versification is lost in treating of subjects the most familiar.

Flexibility and compass, and a certain facility of accommodation to all subjects, whether sublime or mean, sad or humorous, loose or severe, are the privileges of this stanza, on which Spenser has impressed the seal of his genius, and fixed our prejudices for ever. There is besides, in its structure, a sort of quaint simplicity which humours the mock seriousness of the burlesque. Even the imperfections of this verse were favourable to the objects which this writer had in view. The prolixity of the stanza has a tendency to dilute its strength, and sometimes to produce a nerveless expletory line to make up the complement of the verse, which must, for the most part, sustain the thought unbroken to the end; and this is perfectly in harmony with that colloquial humour and familiar cast of expression which is so playful and pleasing throughout this little poem. Put feeling, and virtue, and the interests of human happiness, out of the question; assume the hypothesis of a world without souls; level man to the consideration of brutes; take him out of his moral state; set him at large the vagrant son of nature in full physical freedom to indulge his temperament; suppose all the enclosures of civilized life laid open, and family ties, and "relations dear," and "all the charities—of father, son, and brother" fairly out of the way, and then

this little poem of Beppo, which it is said, but which we are slow to believe, Lord Byron, an English nobleman, an English husband, and an English father, hath sent reeking from the stews of Venice, is a production of great humour and unquestionable excellence. There is throughout the performance an evident care taken to make the ridicule fall not on the manner, or the sentiment, or the principles of Lord Byron's poems, but upon poor unrespected virtuous love, and woman's honour, and rustic shame, and household joys, and hum-drum human happiness. We are quite sure that many a maiden and many a mother, British-born and British-bred, will rise from the perusal of this little delightful display of Italian manners, this light and sportive raillery on the marriage vow, with many troublesome prejudices removed, an encreased dread of being righteous overmuch, and a resolution, in spite of a prying and censorious world, to live in charity with her neighbours of the other sex, though it should be called facility or levity.

In all seriousness, then, we mean to say, that the way in which the writer of this bantering poem has treated the sin of adultery, and all the sanctions by which marriage is made holy and happy, designates it as the product of a mind careless, cold, and callous: for who but a man of such a mind could, at a distance from his country and home, with a full knowledge of what makes that country great and prosperous, her families honourable, her sons manly and true, and her daughters the objects of delicate and respectful love, send among us a tale of pollution, dipped in the deepest die of Italian debauchery, relieved and recommended by a vivacity and grace of colouring that takes from the mischief its apparent turpitude, and disarms the vigilance of virtue.

Madame de Staël, who, amidst her eccentricities and varieties, seems to have possessed a good heart, and had certainly a perspicacious mind, has felt and described with great truth, in many places of her work on Germany, the dreadful force of ridicule as the auxiliary of vice. In the language of that distinguished lady, this mischievous power "has erected for itself a sort of republican government, which pronounces a sentence of ostracism on all that is strong and distinguished in human nature. It undermines love, religion, all things, except that selfishness which cannot be reached by irony, because it exposes itself to censure, but not to ridicule. It was in this spirit that Voltaire composed his Candide, that effort of diabolical gaiety, which appears to have been written by a being of a different nature from ourselves, insensible to our condition, well-pleased with our sufferings, and laughing, like a demon or an ape, at the miseries of that human species with which he has nothing in common. Candide brings into action that scoffing philosophy, *so indulgent in appearance*, in reality so ferocious."

Such is the real character, and such the success, of all these little facetious, frolicsome attacks upon the great pillars of human repose. These supports resist the storm and the tempest, the loud and boisterous agitation of those angry elements that vex the moral world; God's threatenings pass by and spare; but when a few human hands begin the work of undermining, with their little implements of mattock and spade, digging away the earth, until the foundation is laid bare, then the slightest impulse suffices to bring to the dust the fairest fabric of man's labour, and the monument of ages. Society reels and totters when its fastenings and stays are loosened, and the solid ground loses its tenacity, and forsakes the base; while civil commotions, and even revolutions, with all their dire concomitants, will often leave the moral structure fundamentally and vitally whole. There is but one way, says the ingenious lady from whom we have already quoted, of resisting this influence (speaking of the influence of French ridicule), and that consists in very decided national habits and character. And we are quite of the same opinion, only perhaps a little differing from her as to the extent and comparative dignity of the great formative principles of national character. We are not among those who rejoice in the cosmopolitan liberality, which has of late years become a marked feature in the system of British philosophy. If it arose from a Christian enlargement of sentiment, like that which animates our societies for carrying to foreign parts the blessings of God's Holy Word, it would at least have commanded our respect; but as, to speak the truth, we impute it rather to a growing indifference to the distinction of moral worth, than to any Christian expansion of benevolence, we cannot hold it in any high estimation. We dread an amalgamation with the Continent: we feel quite persuaded that our nationality and our morality have so long mutually upheld each other that they cannot be separated without mutual injury. No one can have paid any attention to the aspect of society in this country, since the late revolution in France, and the gradual change in the colours of its fashions and habits, without marking the growing indications of a denationalizing spirit, an unconcernedness about our honour, or exploits, our prosperity; and, worst of all, a decay of that masculine decency, and sobriety, and soundness of sentiment, which, about half a century ago, made us dread the contagion of French or Italian manners, and placed us in a proud security above the reach of their pollutions.

It is impossible not to see all this with hearts too serious to suffer us to read much of the best poetry of the present day, with pleasure or pride, the great aim of which is to shake the basis of that felicity, which is laid in female honour, and virtuous

love. On various other occasions, and particularly in our remarks upon the poems of Mr. Moore, and the former productions of Lord Byron, we have spoken out very decidedly on the scandalous objects to which some of the best efforts of the British Muse have been devoted; we shall, therefore, conclude our observations on this little piece of rhyming mischief, with an extract or two, in which such of our readers as have not had the work in their hands, may have a specimen of the spirit and tone in which it is written, without any sacrifice on our parts of the dignity and decency of our pages. The parts we shall select, to become intelligible, will not require the story to be told, which is, in truth, nothing but a trumpery narrative of a lady and her gallant, and a base acquiescing husband, who, nevertheless, is presented to us as a person of sense and worth.

" ' England ! with all thy faults I love thee still,'
I said at Calais, and have not forgot it;
I like to speak and lucubrate my fill;
I like the government (but that is not it);
I like the freedom of the press and quill;
I like the Habeas Corpus (when we have got it);
I like a parliamentary debate,
Particularly when 'tis not too late;

" I like the taxes, when they're not too many;
I like a seacoal fire, when not too dear;
I like a beef-steak, too, as well as any;
Have no objection to a pot of beer;
I like the weather, when it is not rainy,
That is, I like two months of every year.
And so God save the Regent, Church, and King!
Which means that I like all and every thing.

" Our standing army, and disbanded seamen,
Poor's rate, Reform, my own, the nation's debt,
Our little riots just to show we are free men,
Our trifling bankruptcies in the Gazette,
Our cloudy climate, and our chilly women,
All these I can forgive, and those forget,
And greatly venerate our recent glories,
And wish they were not owing to the Tories.

" But to my tale of Laura,—for I find
Digression is a sin, that by degrees
Becomes exceeding tedious to my mind,
And, therefore, may the reader too displease—
The gentle reader, who may wax unkind,
And caring little for the author's ease,
Insist on knowing what he means, a hard
And hapless situation for a bard.

" Oh that I had the art of easy writing
What should be easy reading! could I scale
Parnassus, where the Muses sit inditing
Those pretty poems never known to fail,
How quickly would I print (the world delighting)
A Grecian, Syrian, or Assyrian tale;
And sell you, mix'd with western sentimentalism,
Some samples of the finest Orientalism.

" But I am but a nameless sort of person,
(A broken Dandy lately on my travels)
And take for rhyme, to hook my rambling verse on,
The first that Walker's Lexicon unravels,
And when I can't find that, I put a worse on,
Not caring as I ought for critic's cavils;
I've half a mind to tumble down to prose,
But verse is more in fashion—so here goes!" (P. 23—26.)

Again,

" The morning now was on the point of breaking,
A turn of time at which I would advise
Ladies who have been dancing, or partaking
In any other kind of exercise,
To make their preparations for forsaking
The ball-room ere the sun begins to rise,
Because when once the lamps and candles fail,
His blushes make them look a little pale.

" I've seen some balls and revels in my time,
And staid them over for some silly reason,
And then I looked, (I hope it was no crime,)
To see what lady best stood out the season;
And though I've seen some thousands in their prime,
Lovely and pleasing, and who still may please on,
I never saw but one, (the stars withdrawn,)
Whose bloom could after dancing dare the dawn.

" The name of this Aurora I'll not mention,
Although I might, for she was nought to me
More than that patent work of God's invention,
A charming woman, whom we like to see;
But writing names would merit reprehension,
Yet if you like to find out this fair *she*,
At the next London or Parisian ball
You still may mark her cheek, out-blooming all." (P. 40, 41.)

We wish we could have parted better friends with the author of Beppo, whoever he may be, for we cannot help respecting his genius. We rather hope that those will be found right in their conjecture who have ascribed it to Lord Byron himself; for, under all circumstances, we do not wish for a duplicate of that eccentric nobleman. Such is the value of correct opinion, and

a right moral feeling, among Britons at this moment, that we cannot afford to be amused at the expense of decency, and delicacy, and principle. We have no right, however, to take it for granted that Beppo is Lord Byron's; and as his Lordship has given us so much painful employment in the examination of his avowed performances, we do not wish to multiply this task upon ourselves, by assuming what is not ascertained. According to the advertisements, we are soon to have before us another Canto of the Childe Harold. We shall be happy to find in it some reparation for the injury done to the cause of virtue and religion by those which have appeared; and dread, for his sake, the accumulation of that fearful accountability which accompanies the gift of such great talents as unquestionably belong to him. We shall not fail to bestow upon it that honest criticism which the important productions of his genius have, we are sure, always experienced from us, whose pens are obedient to no motives or influences but the love of our dear country, its mind, and its character.

Art. III.—CAMBRIDGE PREACHERS.

1. *A Course of Sermons, preached at Great Saint Mary's Church, before the University of Cambridge, during the Month of April*, 1816. By the Rev. William Sharpe, A. M. Chaplain of Trinity College, Cambridge. *The Second Edition, with an Appendix.* 8vo. pp. 144. Rivingtons. London, 1817.
2. *A Theological Inquiry into the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Nature of Baptismal Regeneration, in five Discourses, preached before the University of Cambridge, in April*, 1817. By the Rev. C. Benson, M. A. Member of Trinity College, and Lecturer of St. John's, Newcastle-upon-Tyne. 8vo. pp. 110. Rivingtons. London, 1817.
3. *The True Test of Religion in the Soul: or Practical Christianity Delineated. A Sermon preached before the University of Cambridge, March* 9, 1817. By the Rev. Charles Simeon, M. A. Fellow of King's College. 8vo. pp. 25. Cadell and Davies. London, 1817.

It has been often remarked, that the ruin of any establishment more frequently proceeds from itself than from extraneous sources. An external shock often conduces to brace the system and confirm its stability; but when the symptoms of decay arise from an internal source, they are usually of a slow, but at the

same time of a progressive and destructive nature. This remark seems especially applicable to our revered ecclesiastical establishment; in which we are not afraid that the irruptions of hostile violence will ever make any very alarming conquest while the citadel remains safely guarded from within. But should a time ever arrive in which defection, strife, ostentation, apathy, or other injurious characteristics and dispositions, followed by a corresponding system of conduct, shall dissolve the internal supports of our church establishment, we cannot doubt that it must speedily hasten to its downfall. Viewing the affair in this serious aspect, and connecting with the possible dissolution of the established religion, the subversion of not a little that is good and lovely, not a little that is conducive to the morals, the happiness, and the eternal safety of mankind, we cannot express the anxiety we have ever felt in witnessing the prevalence of those qualities which must, in proportion as they extend, prove the fruitful sources of danger and dilapidation.

In making the preceding remarks, we are perfectly aware that we have placed upon an equal footing things which, in the opinion of but too many persons, are not only totally distinct, but appear greatly to vary in their comparative measure of importance. To not a few men, even of intellect and learning, the preservation of scriptural purity of doctrine appears a point of very subordinate moment to the inculcation of virtue of life; or, in other words, they imagine that it is of very little consequence what we think, at least on the controversial parts of Christianity, as long as we are not vicious in our ordinary deportment. To persons of this description, the works enumerated at the head of this paper will, of course, appear wholly unnecessary and uninteresting. Whether baptism be, or be not, inseparably connected with regeneration; whether conversion to God be necessary, and what is its nature, and what are its effects; whether we are justified in the Divine sight by faith or by works, or by neither, or by both, must be considered, by such readers, as subjects very unworthy of intellectual speculation. We need not say that such is not our own feeling; for if Christianity be really what it professes to be, a revelation from God of the utmost importance to mankind, and involving all our best and dearest interests, both for the present and the future world, it cannot be a matter of slight importance, whether or not we are duly acquainted with its characters and nature, so far, at least, as is necessary to secure our own salvation.

On these grounds, then, among others, we do not object to the legitimate and temperate discussion of religious subjects, even when that discussion assumes something of a controversial form. We would not, indeed, proceed to the length of the Rev. John

Hume Spry in preaching a visitation sermon expressly to inculcate "the Duty of Controversy;"* but we should be far from shrinking from "the duty," where it appeared to be really such; a case which we imagine happens much less often than zealous partisans are willing to admit. Of all places, however, the pulpit appears to us to be the most unfit for practising this "duty."

With these views, we scarcely know how to estimate the propriety of the sermons before us. On the one hand, several subjects of grave theological discussion have arisen, deeply interesting to Christians in general, and to churchmen in particular; and, most of all, to the younger members of the sacred profession. In addition also to this, the University preacher has been always privileged to wander somewhat beyond the ordinary bounds of parochial instruction, and to consider various topics more immediately connected with the studies and the habits of life, and the future prospects of the larger part of his learned and dignified auditory. A critical question, a point of subtle disputation, a revived heresy, a learned difficulty, and topics even of a merely local and personal range, may often be admissible in a University sermon, which would be wholly misplaced, and perhaps even positively injurious, if introduced before a more mixed and less intellectual congregation. On the other hand, it may with equal justice be contended, that a University audience meet, or ought to meet, in the temple of God for the same purposes as the members of the most illiterate parish; that the aim of pulpit instruction ought to be direct, practical, and devotional; that the enlargement of the mind is a very subordinate point to the improvement of the heart; and that, in short, whatever may be the subject or mode of discussion, man ought still to be contemplated in the same humbling points of view which would be fitted for an assemblage of untutored rustics.

In each of these aspects, the controversy before us may be alternately censured or defended. On the one side, to convert the Christian pulpit into an arena for the display of controversial prowess, and to make practical utility bend to the love of speculation, can admit of no excuse. Yet, on the other, to defend "the faith once delivered to the saints," to repel the arguments of innovators, and to guide the youthful student into the right track, is too important a duty to be neglected, even though in the attempt to gain the point proposed the fountains of controversy may be opened. We shall not, therefore, absolutely object to the turn which these discourses seem to indicate that the public preaching at Cambridge has lately taken; though, upon the

* See his Sermon, with this title, preached July 23, 1817, before the Archdeacon of Stafford, and the clergy who attended his visitation.

whole, we think St. Mary's might have been better employed than in so warm and lengthened a discussion. We cannot but picture to ourselves the number of young men who must have proceeded to their respective cures with minds inflamed by theological controversy, and consequently with very incorrect views of the relative proportions of religious duty. Persons of this description, especially if but little acquainted with professional studies before their entrance at College, can scarcely fail to carry into their parishes something of the tone and manner of pulpit instruction which they have been accustomed to admire at the University. Indeed, so far does this disposition already prevail, that no small number of the young divines of the present day have so much to do with attacking and defending, that they can scarcely find time or patience for the tame and ordinary employment of peaceable instruction. To retail the arguments of an admired University sermon, or what will sometimes do nearly as well, to collect its invectives against "Methodists" and "Evangelical Ministers," forgetting the reasons by which they were attempted to be supported, is, to a young man of warm feelings and little piety, a more congenial occupation, than so to preach, and so to live, as to expose himself by his virtues to the very appellations which he ridicules.

There is nothing we more dread than a polemical race of clergy. Though a minister's views should be correct, and his conduct regular, yet if he imbibe a spirit more calculated for disputing than acting, more ready to discover what is wrong in other classes of divines than what is his own duty, and what may most benefit the souls committed to his care, all his virtues and orthodoxy will be of little practical avail. On this ground, therefore, we greatly fear the possible effects of University controversies in the pulpit. If our young men are to be trained to a cavilling, disputatious mode of viewing scriptural truth, rather than to a warm, vivid, and operative feeling of its importance, the cause of genuine Christianity must necessarily languish within our walls; and all that animated our forefathers, all that made them happy upon earth, and guided them to heaven, will soon become extinct.

In thus deprecating the effects of a litigious spirit in the clergy, we are not intending to lay any particular share of blame upon any of the individuals whose works have suggested these remarks. Each one of these clergymen doubtless thought his own view of Scripture of great practical importance; and it is only when the *general effect* is beheld by a bystander that the real evils incidental to such controversies become apparent. At the time, each attack and defence doubtless appeared naturally to follow what had gone before; and not to have made replies and

rejoinders in due form might have been construed into a breach of an incumbent duty. But when the whole effect is contemplated, it is impossible for the mind not to observe something harsh and revolting in this pulpit war; and in our office as reviewers, as well as in correspondence with our feelings as Christians, we could wish that, if controversial subjects must be discussed in the pulpit (as of course, in an age like this, they too often must), they should, as far as possible, be divested of their martial form, and be mellowed down to the most kindly shape which they are capable of assuming.

The chief subjects to which the discussion before us extends, may be inferred from the titles of Mr. Sharpe's sermons, which are on Original Sin; Regeneration; Justification by Faith; and Final Perseverance.

It would be unjust not to admit that Mr. Sharpe has discussed each of these intricate subjects with considerable ingenuity; yet we are by no means satisfied with the result of his speculations upon any one of the great points in question. Indeed, independently of what we consider to be incorrect views on many important branches of Christian theology, there is throughout his reasoning, as well as that of Mr. Benson, and many other divines of the same school, a cold, dry, scholastic manner, which rather suits the professor's chair than the pulpit. Sermons like these do not greatly interest the heart, or influence the conduct. Even when correct and orthodox, they rather furnish an amusement (doubtless a rational and salutary one) for the understanding, than an appeal to the spiritual and moral powers. No man goes away from the disputation with a heart humbled to penitence, or with affections raised above the vanities and perturbations of the world, to the high and interesting objects of eternity.

But this deficiency of *impression* is not the only, nor perhaps is it the greatest evil of the kind of preaching to which we allude; and which may be defined to consist in logically reasoning upon admitted principles in religion, rather than in explaining and enforcing Scripture doctrine as plainly and unostentatiously revealed in the Divine Word. The *greatest* evil is, that by means of a process, the individual steps of which appear quite correct and logical, a result may oftentimes be produced which is the very reverse of another which equally appeared to flow from admitted principles. Suppose, for example, instead of listening simply to the language of Scripture on some litigated question between the Calvinists and Arminians, we assume the character of the Deity as a point granted, and begin to reason in the aforesaid harsh and technical manner upon the admitted fact. It is easy to perceive that, beginning with premises quite correct and undeniable, we

may follow them out to inferences of the most contrary nature, both of which cannot be true, and neither of which, perhaps, is so. The Calvinist, for instance, beginning with the infinite wisdom of God, infers his foreknowledge; and, by an easy step, goes from foreknowledge to predestination. Or, arguing again from the depravity of man, and the acknowledged need of the Divine influences, he may proceed, point by point, till he comes even to deny (or rather till his opponent comes to deny for him) the voluntary agency and responsibility of man. The Arminian, on the contrary, taking other attributes of the Deity,—for example, his love and mercy,—arrives at conclusions of a very different and even opposite kind. Yet, perhaps, each conducted his argument by a chain of reasoning, the links of which appeared indissoluble. Indeed, in religious controversies, nothing is more evident than the impossibility of settling great questions by this scholastic method; and it ought, therefore, to be an axiom in divinity that no controverted proposition shall be considered as proved, unless the conclusion, as well as the premises, correspond with the sacred Scriptures. The adoption of this rule would go far to silence many of the disputes which infest the Christian world, and to cut down those long and subtle arguments about predestination, and regeneration, and original sin, and similar subjects, which, while they give no small degree of complacency to the advocate and his friends, seldom or never convince his opponent, who, from other premises, equally undeniable, derives inferences of a quite contrary nature.

On these grounds, also, we object to the method so often employed by polemics, of following up the arguments of their adversaries to an absurdity, and then denouncing them as wicked or ridiculous. In physical science this practice (though even here it has been sometimes objected to) is an important means of detecting or proving a truth which no other process could reach; but in questions relative to subjects far above human reason, and unfolded only in the pages of revelation, no method of ratiocination can be more fallacious. The Scriptures were never intended to be cramped into the nooks and windings of our feeble dialectics. A broad outline is exhibited, the traces of which we cannot mistake; but the moment we quit its confines, and pass on to regions unexplored, we can scarcely fail to lose ourselves in uncertainty and error. There is hardly a fact or doctrine but which, by means of fine-spun deductions and inferences, might be followed out to some most unwarrantable conclusion. We therefore by no means admit as decisive the following argument employed by Mr. Sharpe:

"The principles, which we have been tracing into their consequences, introduce in their train, by natural and necessary con-

nexion, the tremendous doctrines of absolute predestination, of private and personal election and reprobation. We are not ignorant indeed that the advocates of the opinions we are opposing reject these, and similar deductions from them, with the utmost aversion and disgust; but they are to be reminded that the laws of reasoning do not allow them the liberty of adopting such a summary course of proceeding; they are either bound to shew the fallacy of the argument by which these conclusions are derived, or, if they are allowed to be legitimately deduced, they and the hypothesis must go *together*—they must be *both* admitted or both rejected." (P. 7.)

Now, if this be admitted (and we allow that *in theory* it at first appears quite fair), Mr. Sharpe's adversaries might equally pursue not a few of his own positions to consequences which he would certainly not be prepared to admit; and which, in fact, no opponent would be justified in urging upon him. Thus might mutual recrimination too easily glide into that place which ought to be reserved for Christian charity; and either party, measuring his adversary's sentiments not by what he himself advances, or what he thinks Scripture countenances, but surveying them through the medium of remote inferences and deductions, would be led to cherish feelings of jealousy and hostility, which a little good sense and good temper might have prevented.

Mr. Sharpe, in beginning with the doctrine of original sin, touches upon that which lies at the root of all the chief differences between the two opposing classes of the clergy. If the pravity of man be nothing more than what this author designates in softened phrase "a mitigated degree of moral disorganization," it is impossible his views of other scriptural doctrines can correspond with those of persons who think that we are gone "very far" (*quam longissimè*) from original righteousness. The disease and the remedy must necessarily bear a due correspondence; and, consequently, all the doctrines which relate to the justification and sanctification of a sinner, must assume, in the mind of a theologian, a complexion analogous to that of the fundamental position to which they have reference. We certainly think the texts which Mr. Sharpe introduces in proving his "mitigated" view, or censuring the view of his opponents, considerably warped by the process. For instance, that passage in the Book of Job, "*How much more abominable and filthy is man, who drinketh iniquity like water*," had been urged, it seems (whether correctly or not we are not professing to decide), to countenance the doctrine of original sin in a fuller measure than Mr. Sharpe is inclined to admit. He therefore argues, that so far from this text proving the doctrine *intended* to be proved by it, it proves the very contrary; for that the expression *drinketh* shows that the transgressor "*acquires* and *imbibes* that which was at first *extraneous*

to him." Had he only questioned the relevancy of the passage to the subject of discussion, we should not have thought it necessary, at least in this place, to argue the question; but certainly the inference which he deduces is by no means unimpeachable; for the inquiry still remains, what *made* man thus delight to "*drink iniquity like water?*" Indeed nothing is more obvious, from the existing circumstances of the world, than that the depravity of mankind is deep and radical; that "the thoughts of the heart of man are only evil, and that continually." A "mitigated" hypothesis will not account for the facts of the case; and we have but to open our eyes to surrounding scenes in order to learn the unimpeachable, though unwelcome fact, that our once holy and perfect nature has become so extensively corrupt, that "there is *no* health in us."

If, however, we have not agreed with Mr. Sharpe, in some of his fundamental principles, we feel much pleasure in quoting the following practical conclusions, annexed to his sermon, on the subject under consideration:

"In conclusion therefore let us endeavour, on the principles of reason and of Scripture, to imprint upon our minds a deep and solid sense of the heinousness of *actual* sin, an employment highly salutary at all times, and particularly proper at *this* season, when we commemorate the sacrifice of 'the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world.'

"And first, let us contemplate the enormity of sin, considered as an act of disobedience and ingratitude towards God.—The criminality of disobedience and ingratitude is always in exact proportion to the degree of obedience due from the offending party, and the nature and extent of the obligations conferred on him by his benefactor. And which of the sons of men can apply this equitable maxim as a measure of his own transgressions against God, without feeling his countenance fall with shame and grief, his conscience shudder with terrific apprehension, and his whole heart and soul within him become 'even like melting wax.' Man, originally a clod of earth, moulded by the Almighty Artificer into a form and substance, whose properties and wonders are past finding out; waked into being out of the sleep of chaos, by an infusion into his nostrils of the breath of life, and placed in a station of proud pre-eminence over all the other works of God; —bearing on his brow the stamp of divinity, and possessing in his internal constitution a particle of its essence, a rational mind, an immortal soul, capable of feeling and of enjoying existence, of pondering on the past, of perceiving the present, of anticipating the future, of discerning the harmonies, and tasting the sweets of virtue, and of knowing, adoring, and loving God; man, a being invested with the most ample means of virtuous happiness here, by the very use and enjoyment of which he was designed, in the gracious purpose of his Maker, to prepare himself for a state of *endless* happiness hereafter;—man, a creature thus constituted, thus endowed, and thus appointed,

can find it in his heart to insult the Giver of these unspeakable blessings, and, by deliberately choosing that which is hateful in his sight, to frustrate the riches of his goodness, and make void his counsel against himself. Oh! my brethren, let us think of these things, of these unbounded mercies which we have all so often despised, and let each of us veil his head, and smite upon his breast, saying, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.'

"In the next place, we may form some notion of the malignity of sin, by observing its effects on the world at large, and on the sinner himself. When we compare the actual state of things around us with what it might be, and would be, but for the wickedness of man, how striking and how dreadful is the contrast; instead of beholding an earthly paradise, peopled with a race of beings, whose principal care and employment it is to glorify their common Father which is in heaven, and to alleviate the natural misfortunes, and augment the happiness of each and all of their kindred men, how frequently and how widely are we compelled to witness the mournful ravages of sin; sometimes appearing under the form of ambition, and slaughtering men in mere wantonness, till the sword is drunk with the blood of the slain;—sometimes destroying the confidence of civil life, by acts of violence, injustice, and oppression;—sometimes by perfidy and ingratitude tearing asunder the strongest ties which knit the heart of man to man;—and sometimes, in the indulgence of private profligacy, infusing poison into the cup of innocence, and planting in the bosom, where parental and conjugal affection had produced a sweet oblivion of the ills of life, unutterable anguish and bitterness of soul. Such is the face which *creation* wears, in consequence of the voluntary depravity of its lord; but who shall depict even the temporal misery which he is accumulating for *himself* as often as he transgresses the law of his God; who can descend into the dark recesses of the sinner's soul, and describe the sounds and sights of woe which burst upon it from every quarter; the fearfulness and trembling, the suspicion and dismay, wherewith the mind is haunted, when no mortal enemy is by; the trumpet-tongue of conscience, which ceases not to cry neither day nor night; and the convulsive agitations of a tortured spirit, which is 'like the troubled sea when it cannot rest.' Tranquillity must be sought in the ways of virtue, for 'there is no peace, saith God, to the wicked.'

"Again—let us read the nature and desert of sin in characters visible to the *external* eye, which are daily and hourly presented to our notice, and written by the immediate finger of God. According to his all-righteous judgment 'the wages of sin is death,' and the sentence pronounced as a *penalty* on the first transgressor, is regularly inflicted on all his descendants, as an awful *memento* (among other purposes) of what is properly due to sin, and as a present intimation of what it may expect to receive in a future and eternal world. See, then, the sorry and loathsome remnant of that noble creature, man, when the spirit has fled, and resigned its habitation to the worms. How wonderful! how terrible! that lie, who was lately beheld with complacency, it *may* be with affection and delight, is now transformed at once into an

object of aversion, disgust, and horror. It is *sin* that has wrought the mighty ruin; in the fearly exhibition of mortality, it is *sin* that sits triumphant on the throne, and death is only the minister by her side.

"Lastly, let us learn the enormity of sin in the sight of a pure and righteous God, by the value of the atonement, which he required to be made for it. Neither 'thousands of rams' for a sacrifice, nor 'ten thousands of rivers of oil' for a libation, could send up a savour unto heaven sufficiently grateful to appease its wrath; no, nor could even repentance and reformation cancel the hand-writing of ordinances against us, and restore the sinner to the unqualified favour of his Maker. And as no one could avail to liberate himself from the curse of the law, much less was he able to redeem his brother, or make atonement unto God for him; and all creation would have groaned together in bondage until now had not the second Man from heaven, compassionating our infirmities and miseries, condescended to lay aside the inherent glory of the only-begotten of the Father, and offer himself as a Lamb for a burnt-offering, holy and acceptable unto God. With what feelings then of deep remorse, of self-abasement, and self-condemnation, should we 'look upon him whom we have pierced,' when it was our iniquity that nailed him to the tree; and with what unfeigned and fervent gratitude to him who died for *us* that we might live through *him*.

"And can we then continue in sin now that grace and mercy have thus abounded to us, and love and cherish the mortal enemy of God, which called his Son from heaven to the cross. Oh! let us be infinitely careful how we 'crucify the Son of God afresh, and put him again to an open shame;' for, if we 'count the blood of the covenant an unholy thing,' and refuse to avail ourselves of its sanctifying influence, 'there remaineth no more sacrifice for sin, but a certain fearful looking-for of judgment and fiery indignation.'" (P. 31—34.)

Another topic which prominently occupies the pages of Mr. Sharpe, and to which the whole of Mr. Benson's work is devoted, is that long controverted subject—the effects of Christian baptism. On this, after so much has been said, we are not aware that we can throw any new light, and therefore shall not fatigue our readers with repeating the arguments which both parties have produced to countenance their opinions. We cannot, however, but remark with much satisfaction, that the nature of the controversy has considerably changed since we first formally brought the subject before the public. The concessions, indeed, are so numerous, that we can scarcely recognize, in the cautious and select expressions of several recent authors, the positions which first startled us in the tracts of Dr. Mant. The *inseparable* connexion between baptism and regeneration, taking the word *regeneration* in its highest sense, is now loudly disclaimed by all parties. Even Mr. Benson argues:

"The spiritual blessings of baptism *at the time* of its reception, like the spiritual blessings of the covenant itself, are to be measured

by the worthiness of the recipient. And wherever an individual is *capable* of fulfilling the conditions we have specified, his worthiness must of course be estimated according to their fulfilment.

"If, therefore, a rational and intelligent adult, an adult blessed with the opportunity of learning and the capacity of understanding his duty,—an adult living in a Christian country, and attending upon a Christian ministry, should presumptuously approach the waters of baptism, without penitence or belief, it is evident that the administration of the ordinance would communicate to him at the time no beneficial effect whatsoever. For the impenitence and unbelief of such a man must necessarily be considered as a *wilful* want of the requisite qualifications, and consequently as a bar to the benefits of a conditional covenant, whose saving power depends upon the worthiness of its members. And if that bar should still continue, and if that man should go on and live the life and die the death of impenitence and unbelief, doubtless, his damnation will be greater, and his punishment the more severe. He has sinned against the law, and therefore must be judged by the law, and be beaten with many stripes, because he knew, or at least had an opportunity of knowing and doing, the will of God, and did it not. Yet I would not dare, even in this extreme case, to say, that baptism, as the solemn institution of my Saviour and my God, is altogether without any *possible* benefit. The case of a wilfully faithless and unrepenting recipient of baptism, is, indeed, in reality as dangerous, as it is horrible in contemplation, and we may well expect, that having sinned against the light of his conscience and the truth, the light will be for ever withdrawn from his eyes, and he himself condemned to all the wickedness and wretchedness of a reprobate mind, the anguish and despair of a hopeless destiny. Still, however, we cannot, without denying the general efficacy of the sacrament itself, deny, that every one is by baptism made either a worthy or unworthy member of the covenant of grace, of that covenant which admits and rewards the labourers of the vineyard even as late as the eleventh hour of the day, and expressly declares, that 'every one that believeth and is baptised shall be saved,' without specifying any particular moment, beyond which that faith will be ineffectual. Destitute, therefore, as we may be of all rational or probable expectation of such an event, we still feel authorized to maintain, that if the character of an unbelieving and impenitent recipient of baptism should at any subsequent period of life experience a favourable and godly change, and from an unworthy, he should become a worthy member of the Christian covenant; his previous admission into it by baptism will be made effectual to salvation without any second administration of the ordinance." (P. 15—17.)

We do not, in bringing forward this extract, pretend entirely to vindicate the theology which pervades it. The way, for instance, in which the term *worthy* is more than once used, is not, we conceive, quite free from exception: we are, however, glad to find our author, in another part of his work, expressing himself upon this subject in a less dubious manner:

" It may safely be asserted, that faith and repentance are not the meritorious conditions of the salvation of the members of Christianity; and if this distinction had been carefully observed and openly allowed, it might not perhaps have altogether precluded that difference of opinion, which has so long been entertained upon the qualifications of baptism; but it certainly would have prevented much of that animosity to which this difference of opinion has given rise. For, every thing that we are, and every thing that we do, it is by the grace of God. We are not sufficient of ourselves to do any thing as of ourselves; and therefore not even to turn and prepare ourselves for a participation in the redemption of Jesus, by the acquisition of the virtues of repentance and faith. Our sufficiency for that, as well as for any other good work, must be of God; and consequently, being the gift of his goodness, cannot claim from his justice the reward of redemption as a debt. For no reward can be said, in strictness, to be due from the giver to the possessor of a gift, merely for the sake and on account of that gift." (P. 45, 46.)

We have already stated, that much of the difference in opinion between the two classes of clergy under consideration, arises from the different views which they entertain of the natural condition of man, and consequently of the nature and extent of the remedy provided, and the mode and means of its application. To this we may add, that they equally differ in their ideas of what constitutes a Christian; so that their statements, wherever this idea occurs, must necessarily be incongruous. Mr. Benson, for example, tells us (p. 30) that "baptism" even "*without faith*, maketh us Christians;" and again, speaking of the Gospel as "a covenant," alludes to its "unbelieving and impenitent members," as well as to those who "repent and believe." In like manner Mr. Sharpe has an elaborate argument to prove that a "true faith" and a "dead faith" are *precisely the same*, only that to the one is superadded good works, which are not added to the other. The opposite party deny these positions. They do not consider a man as entitled to the exalted name of a Christian, whose heart and life are not conformable to the religion which he professes. They do not admit *that* to be a "true" faith, which does not proceed to holiness and good works. They cannot conceive the existence of an unbelieving and impenitent member of Christ. They would speak of a wicked man, notwithstanding his baptism, as needing to be converted that he may live; as requiring to be born again to a new and spiritual existence; in a word, as a *nominal* and not a *real* Christian; a distinction which neither Mr. Benson nor Mr. Sharpe would be willing to allow. Mr. Simeon's view of the subject is as follows:

" In the text is drawn a broad line of distinction between the child of God, and every other person under heaven.

" Christians are either nominal or real. Each class has gradations,

from the highest to the lowest; but between the two classes there is an immense gulph, that separates them as far as the east is from the west. To ascertain to which of the two we belong is of infinite importance: but self-love blinds our eyes, and renders the discovery of it extremely difficult. This Scripture however holds up, as it were, a mirror before us; and, if we will look stedfastly into it, we may discern with great precision what manner of persons we are.

"The difference between the two classes is this: the nominal Christian, however eminent he may in appearance be, is partial in his regard for God's precepts; but the true Christian approves and loves them all without exception.

"The nominal Christian, we say, is partial in his regard for God's precepts. He may esteem those *which countenace his own particular party.* The Papist, for instance, and the Protestant, will severally glory in those passages of Holy Writ, which seem to justify their adherence to their respective modes of worship, and to afford them ground for believing, that theirs is the more scriptural and apostolic church. The various classes of Protestants also will manifest an ardent zeal for the support of their respective tenets, and be almost ready to anathematize each other, as not giving sufficient weight to those particular passages, on which they severally found their respective differences. They not only esteem their own grounds of faith 'to be right,' but they 'hate' the sentiments opposed to them 'as erroneous and false.'

"The nominal Christian may also love those precepts *which do not materially condemn him.* The man who is sober, chaste, honest, just, temperate, benevolent, may take a real pleasure in such passages of Scripture as inculcate the virtues in which he supposes himself to have excelled; and may feel an indignation against the ways, by which those precepts are grossly violated.

"He may yet further delightin such precepts as, according to his interpretation of them, *afford him ground for rejecting the gospel.* No passages in all the Word of God are more delightful to him than such as these: 'Be not righteous overmuch;' and 'What doth the Lord thy God require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?' He has no fear lest he should not be *righteous enough;* nor is he very anxious to inquire what is implied in *walking humbly* with God: it is sufficient for him that these passages are, in his eyes, opposed to what he calls enthusiasm; setting aside the necessity of faith in the Lord Jesus, and of a life of entire devotedness to his service: and his hatred of all passages that bear an opposite aspect, is in exact proportion to his zeal for these.

"But, whilst such parts of Scripture are approved by him, does he love *all* that the Inspired Volume contains? Does he love those precepts which are *most sublime and scriptural?* No; it is no pleasure to him to hear of 'setting his affections on things above,' or of having 'his conversation in heaven:' nor does it afford him any gratification to be told, that the measure of holiness which he must aspire after, is that which was exhibited in the Lord Jesus, whose example he is to follow in the whole of his spirit and temper, his conversation and conduct, 'walking in all things as he walked.'

" Nor does he particularly affect those precepts which *require much self-denial.* ' To crucify the flesh with the affections and lusts,' and to root out from his soul every evil, though it be dear to him ' as a right eye,' or necessary to him as ' a right hand,' and to have a compliance with these precepts as his only alternative between that and the taking his portion ' in hell-fire,' is no pleasing sound in his ears, notwithstanding it proceeds from the meek and lowly Jesus.

" Least of all is he gratified with precepts that *strike at his besetting sin.* The proud man does not delight to hear the workings of pride delineated; nor the covetous man the evils of covetousness depicted; nor the gay and dissipated the folly of their ways exposed; nor the self-righteous man the delusive nature of his hopes declared. No, they are all ready to deride the statements that condemn their ways, just as the Pharisees derided our Lord, when he had unveiled their covetous and hypocritical devices: ' The Pharisees were covetous (it is said), and they derided him.' The hearts of these people rise against all such doctrines, and with no little bitterness they exclaim, ' In so saying thou reproachest us.'

" The true Christian, on the contrary, approves and loves all the commands of God; both *those which are evangelical,* and *those which are moral.*" (P. 4—8.)

Our readers will perceive that we have not ventured to enter into the various discussions to which our authors introduce us. The subjects of original sin, predestination, regeneration, justification by faith, &c. &c. are not to be set at rest by a few abstract and pithy remarks. These are questions which the theological student must be content to learn, not in the " seat of the scorner," or of " the vain disputer of this world," but humbly upon his knees, and by the slow and cautious process of self scrutiny, with a habit of comparing what he reads in the Divine Record of his faith, with what he feels passing in his own bosom, and what he observes in the world around him. If he is anxious to jump into conclusions, he will almost inevitably go wrong; and not less so, if he trusts rather to the powers of human dialectics and the processes of cold philosophical reasoning than to the humble and practical study of the Holy Scriptures, in submissive dependance upon that Divine instruction, which is never withheld where it is devoutly implored. It is easy to sit down and invent arguments against the most undeniable positions in theology; it is easy to make scruples where none really existed, and to silence them where they ought to have been heard. No system whatever will stand this process. We must be content to yield to truth, as we find it clearly displayed in revelation, and as it accounts fairly and simply for the actual phenomena existing in the world. If we are to be startled at every awkward or incongruous consequence which a subtle controversialist may contrive to draw from it or tack to it, we shall never obtain any thing like a settled and

consistent view of the Christian faith. We are not therefore, for example, inclined to admit that the doctrines entertained by the moderate and consistent part of what are called the evangelical clergy are incorrect or unscriptural, even though an author should be able ingeniously, or even logically, to advance a number of strong counter-positions. To take a single case: Mr. Sharpe contends that the doctrine of justification by faith, as held and inculcated by his opponents, leads to consequences hostile to morality. It is true, that, in this instance, we think we could easily confute his whole argument, and show the very contrary to be the case. But even supposing we could not, we should not therefore necessarily be induced to yield an opinion, founded, as we conceive, on the plain declarations of Scripture; and which, in point of fact, we do *not* find followed (as Mr. Sharpe would attempt to prove it *ought* in consistency to be followed,) by immorality of life. We may fairly demand with Mr. Simeon,

"If justification by faith alone be necessarily productive of laxness in morals, whence comes it that a higher tone of morality is universally expected from those who maintain that doctrine, than from others? Whence is it that the smallest evils in such persons are more severely marked, than the most licentious courses of the ungodly world? We appeal to all who hear us, whether, if a professor, and especially a preacher, of this doctrine were to demean himself in all things for one single day in the way that the generality of his own age and station live all the year round, the mouths of all who beheld him would not be opened against him as a hypocrite? Whence should this be, if those who maintain the doctrine of justification by faith alone, represented it as liberating men from their obligation to good works? And how comes it, that the very persons who are complained of for the licentious tendency of their principles, should at the same time be universally condemned for the over-righteous sanctity of their lives?" (P. 16—18.)

We think we could quite as forcibly prove that the doctrine of baptismal regeneration necessarily leads to carelessness of life, as Mr. Sharpe, or any other author can, that the doctrine of justification by faith is liable to produce this effect; to which we might add, from real fact and experience, that the former often *does* so, while both Scripture and fact convince us that the latter has the very opposite tendency. Yet we would not charge an opponent with intentional mischief, as long as he pursues the course prescribed, as follows, by Mr. Benson:

"What danger can arise so long as we conclude, that neither the grace of baptism availeth any thing to salvation, nor the want of that grace, but 'faith working by love;' but faith made energetic and effectual by the works of holiness, and crowned with the qualifications of virtue, knowledge, meekness, gentleness, patience, brotherly kind-

ness, and all goodness, and universal charity. Why, what evil have we done in declaring baptism to be 'the power of God unto salvation,' so long as we be not negligent to put men in remembrance of their duty, and to tell them that the cause without the effect is dead; that the gift without the fruits of the Spirit is vain; to warn them lest they should forget that they have been 'purged from their sins;' and to exhort them, as a consequence, 'to give all diligence to make their calling and election sure:' because, though we believe, that by reason of the baptism of our infancy, the Lord doth work in us both to will and to do, yet after all we confess, that it is ourselves alone upon whom depends the working out of our own salvation. Being baptised, we were 'born again into a lively hope of an inheritance, reserved in heaven for them who are kept by the power of God.' Being baptised, we were endued with 'power to become the sons of God.'

"But then it is a power which may be neglected, or abused; or lost. But then if careless and perverse, and without perseverance, we shall *not* be kept by the power of God unto salvation, and so all the liveliness of our hope will become dead, and fade away before the presence of our iniquities. This is the regeneration which we preach." (P. 80, 81.)

We are glad to find that this *is* the regeneration which they preach, and have only to wish that it were more uniformly and constantly followed up by such practical appeals as the foregoing, from the same author. In giving the extracts, we cannot but again remark how greatly the doctrine of baptismal regeneration has been softened down by the late discussions. Mr. Benson, its avowed champion, admits, as we shall see, that though all "have been" regenerate in baptism, all are not "now" regenerate, and that consequently they need a change of heart. Now whether that change be called a "conversion," a "new-birth," a "renovation," or by whatever other term, is comparatively of little consequence, as long as it is co-extensive with the facts and necessities of the case. We do not argue for words, but for things. It is true we *still* consider even Mr. Benson's modified view to be incorrect, and that there is something far from plausible in the idea, that men are all regenerate in baptism, though in the experiment they almost always turn out unregenerate as soon as they are capable of shewing their true character. We, in fact, view this modified doctrine as but a kind of compromise by which the main position of the evangelical clergy as to the *real obvious* condition of the great body of mankind is admitted in substance, while the terms in which it is announced are such as to remove the appearance of concession on the part of their opponents. The "evangelical clergy" we conceive will not greatly quarrel with any brother who shall preach to men *as they are*, and as Scripture describes them to be, whatever may be his speculative notions as to what men *may* have been at the moment of their

baptism. If the doctrine be never employed but as an argument to induce sinners to return to their baptismal privileges, and to come back to the God whom they have forsaken;—if it be never so exhibited as to make it appear to supersede in the public mind, that real and practical change of heart which is necessary to salvation, and which it is conceded may not actually exist even in a baptised person;—if it be so held as to be consistent with adequate views of human guilt and depravity, and the necessity of being in fact, as well as in theory, new creatures in Christ Jesus;—if it be followed up by exhortations to that deep penitence, and humble faith, and persevering holiness, which alone can give any satisfactory evidence of our being "born again;"—the doctrine, though still, as we conceive, incorrect and inconsistent with itself, will certainly not be open to those censures which in its unmodified state it so justly incurred. But to proceed to the extract which gave rise to these remarks:

"Turn we then, for one single moment, to examine what those practical inferences are, to which this doctrine of *baptismal* regeneration leads.

"If we have spoken the truth, every one here has been born again of the Spirit. As infants, they were brought by the piety of their parents to the fountain of life, to the cleansing waters of healing and of baptism, and passing through the laver of regeneration, were there and then regenerated by the Holy Ghost. They have all received the new and spiritual *birth*. But are they all living the new and spiritual *life?* Many that are born do die, and never reach that maturity of strength, and those powers of body and of mind, for the attainment and the use of which they are born into the world. Many that are born do die, some in infancy and some in youth, some in folly and some in pride, and many through the neglect, and many through the abuse of their faculties, do linger out a wretched and diseased existence without vigour, without health, and without hope. It is the same too in the spiritual life, and the analogy may still be continued with a mournful truth. Many have been born *again* who, as spiritual creatures, are dying or are dead. Of all that were brought to the waters of baptism, of all the filth of whose flesh has been washed away, and into whom the principle of godliness has been infused, and the power of becoming the sons of God been given; how few there be, that in the hour of life that now is, in the hour of death that shall be, and in the day of judgment that must be, will be able to bring the answer of a good conscience before God! All have been born *again*, but all are not born of *God*, or abiding in God. All have been regenerated, but all are not now regenerate; and their spiritual life remaineth not, or flourisheth not in them. Some are buried in sins, and some have fallen asleep in negligence. Some in carelessness, and some in wickedness, and some in violence, have checked, or weakened, or, perchance, have quenched the principle of light and love. And many there be, who, through indolence, perverseness, or contempt, are no more than very

children in holiness still;—still tottering in the weakness and helplessness of spiritual infancy. They have never duly cherished and improved the means of growing in grace, and so have never attained unto the perfect man, or reached 'the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.' For the seed of holiness, that is sown in our hearts in baptism, may so decay, or die for want of cultivation, as either to bring forth no fruit at all, or no fruit unto perfection. Examine therefore yourselves brethren, whether, after having been born unto God, ye live unto God; whether, the Spirit having been given you to profit withal, ye, according to the measure of that Spirit, have worked withal. The Spirit indeed worketh when and how it listeth, and we know not when or how. But we know its power, and we know its effects. We refer you not therefore to feelings, but to facts, in order to learn whether ye are continuing, as ye ought to do, to shew forth in your lives the evidences of your regeneration. The works of the workings of the Spirit are these: peace, and faith, and love, and every virtue; and every virtue proceeding out of a good and honest heart, and unfeigned sincerity of obedience to the will of God. If these things then be in you and abound, blessed are ye; for then ye are the sons of God, led by his Spirit, and the heirs, through perseverance, of everlasting glory. But, if these things be in you only imperfectly, or casually, or feebly, all hope indeed is not departed for ever; but it may well become you to remember, to 'stir up the gift of God which is in you,' through baptism, and by temperance, sobriety, and chastity; by meditation, and piety, and prayer; by every common virtue, which obtains the praise of man; and much more by the practice of every uncommon duty, which is despised and neglected of men, to seek after the praise of God, and labour to restore the health, and preserve the life of your souls; lest the angel of death should come, and ye should be found wicked or wanting. But if none of these things be in you, or remain in you *at all;* if seeking for goodness in your hearts, ye can find *none;* if there be in you the powers of reasoning, without the effects of righteousness; the labour of learning, without learning to do well in any measure or degree; if there be in you the excellency of speech, and the barren glories of understanding and knowledge, without any of the real and the eternal excellencies of purity and godliness; the truth must be spoken, though with tears; if ye have utterly quenched, and are altogether dead to the Spirit, it is impossible, says the Apostle, 'for those who were made partakers of the Holy Ghost, and were once enlightened, and have tasted of the heavenly gift; if they should fall away, to renew them again unto repentance.'" (P. 104—108.)

We shall allude, and even that transiently, to but one topic more, which is introduced to our notice by the present works—we mean that fatal error to which, in avoiding a contrary extreme, not a few individuals in the present day have reverted, or appear inclined to revert. We cannot open the subject better than with the remarks of Mr. Simeon:

"From the passage before us, we may, in the next place, offer a

reproof to those who would abuse the gospel. We have already acknowledged, and with deep grief we confess it, that there are some persons professedly of Antinomian principles, who are so occupied with contemplating what Christ has wrought out *for* them, that they cannot bestow a thought on what he has engaged to work *in* them. To speak of holiness, or any point of duty, they account low, and legal: yea, they think that Christ has by his own obedience to the law superseded the necessity of holiness in us; and that the whole work of salvation is so finished by him, that there remains nothing to be done by us, nothing of repentance for sin, nothing of obedience to God's commands, but solely to maintain confidence in the provisions of God's everlasting covenant, and to rejoice in God as our God and portion.

"Shocking as these sentiments are, they have been professed of late to a great extent; and many have been deceived by them: but, to show how unscriptural they are, we need only refer to the character of David, as drawn in the words of our text: Does he discard the law as a rule of life? Does he pour contempt upon the precepts of God as unworthy of his notice? No: throughout all his Psalms he speaks of them as objects of his supreme delight: 'O how I love thy law! all the day long is my study in it.' 'I love thy precepts above gold; they are sweeter to me than honey and the honey-comb.' To the same effect St. Paul also speaks: 'I consent unto the law that it is good:' and again, 'I delight in the law of God after the inward man!' He does, it is true, speak of himself as 'dead to the law;' and of the law as dead with respect to him; and from thence, that the marriage bonds, by which the law and we were formerly united, are for ever dissolved. But what use does he teach us to make of this liberty? Does he speak of it as freeing us from all moral restrictions? No; but as a reason for our giving up ourselves henceforth in a marriage union to Christ, as our second husband, *that we may bring forth fruit unto God.* Now then, we would ask, Were David and Paul right? If so, what must we think of the sentiments of these deluded people? Are they more spiritual than David? Or have they a deeper insight into the gospel than Paul? The very circumstance of their discarding all the exhortations of St. Paul, and casting behind them all his practical instructions, demonstrates, that they are, for the present at least, 'given up to a delusion, to believe a lie.' Some of them, we trust, do not practically live according to these principles; and, where this is the case, we hope that God, in his mercy, will sooner or later give them to see their errors: but, if they practically carry into effect their principles, they will have reason to curse the day that ever they were born.

"To the younger part of our audience we will beg permission to suggest a few hints on this important subject.

"You, when you go into the world, will be in danger of being ensnared by people of this stamp. There is something very imposing in the idea of glorifying the Lord Jesus Christ, and of making him 'all in all.' The devout mind is delighted with this thought; and is easily induced to regard with jealousy any thing that may be supposed to

interfere with it. But be not wise above that which is written; and let nothing tempt you to imagine that you can honour Christ by setting aside any of his commandments. It is by your love to his commandments that you are to approve yourselves his disciples; and, however delighted you may be with the visions of Mount Tabor, you must never forget that you have work also to do in the plain. We are far from wishing any one to be working from self-righteous principles, or in a legal spirit: nor would we utter a word that should discourage the fullest confidence in God. It is our privilege, doubtless, to trace all our mercies up to his everlasting love, and to view them all as secured to us by covenant and by oath: but then it is no less our privilege to fulfil God's will, and to resemble the holy angels, of whom it is said, that 'they do his commandments, hearkening to the voice of his word.' Beware then lest ye ever be led off from his ground. Rejoice in the Lord Jesus Christ, as the propitiation for your sins, as your all-prevailing Advocate, and as your living Head: but, whilst you believe in him, and love him, and rejoice in him, let your faith, and love, and joy, stimulate you to a holy and unreserved obedience. If he has 'set your heart at liberty,' let the effect be to 'make you run with more enlargement the way of his commandments." (P. 18—22.)

Independently of the immediate evil effects of the Antinomianism which Mr. Simeon exposes, it is greatly to be dreaded on account of the unfounded jealousies to which it often gives rise, respecting the tendency of what is called evangelical preaching; which, though as far as possible removed from the errors in question, may easily be represented to the unthinking part of the world, as in intimate connexion with them. The style of preaching which Mr. Simeon censures, consists almost exclusively in the application of stimuli. Its object is to animate and comfort the dejected Christian; but even supposing, what is not always the case, that the methods taken to produce this effect were quite right and scriptural, still, comforting men is but one part of the ministerial function, and ought not to supersede all the rest. We need to be instructed, and corrected, and warned; to be excited to what is right, and deterred from what is wrong. The proportion of those in an ordinary congregation whose case demands what these divines would denominate "a *comforting* sermon" is very small, compared with those who need to be taught the first elements of religion, those who require to be aroused from carelessness, those whose prejudices want correcting, whose hearts want exciting, whose consciences are secure, and who need all the most powerful warnings and sanctions of revelation to awaken them even to the slightest degree of spiritual impression. The varieties of the moral constitution are not studied in this mode of preaching. Instead of reserving "strong drink for them that are ready to perish, and wine for those that are of a heavy

heart," the same stimulating diet is administered to all, whatever be their cases; so that while perhaps a few dejected persons derive what they imagine particularly suits their frame of mind, the great body of persons present must either remain uninterested spectators, or indulge in feelings which, in their present state of character, would be positively, and perhaps irreparably, injurious.

This result would, in some measure occur, even supposing that the error in question arose only from an indiscreet selection and undue preponderance of a few topics, in themselves not inconsistent with revelation, but which formed only one among many aspects in which religious truth might be contemplated. In the same manner as a too frequent and harsh statement of the awful threatenings of Scripture, to the exclusion of its promises and invitations, might drive a penitent to despair, the contrary error would probably lead to false security and presumption. But how much more must this be the case when, as in the instances which we are contemplating, the stimulants employed are not only used in undue quantities, but are of a positively injurious quality. This we conceive to be the case with the sermons of Antinomian ministers, and, in a slighter degree, of all those who tread, though at some distance, in their steps. The mode in which they speak of self-examination, and their contempt for every thing like a sober, and rational, and scriptural estimate of the heart by the conduct, of the faith by the works, must necessarily lead to the most evil consequences. To affect to connect the body of the evangelical clergy with men of this description is eminently unfair. Indeed, neither the term "evangelical," nor that of "orthodox," nor any similar appellation, can be considered as describing an exact and well-defined species of character. We must judge of ministers and their doctrines individually, and not by a reference to some party standard, to which they are supposed to belong. We must not be deterred or frightened by a few hard words on either side: truth in religion is of too much importance to be sacrificed to names or parties; and wherever it is found ought to be hailed by every good man, whatever may be the class of persons among whom it may have taken up its residence.

ART. IV.—*Narrative of a Voyage to New Zealand, performed in the Years* 1814 *and* 1815, *in Company with the Rev. Samuel Marsden, principal Chaplain of New South Wales.* By John Liddiard Nicholas, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 828. Black and Son. London, 1817.

IN perusing the works that come before us in the shape of voyages, travels, and personal narratives, we have often attempt-

ed, but in vain, to renew the keen delight and enthusiasm of those early periods of existence, in which every thing was in its vernal dress. For the opening mind, writings of this kind have a nameless charm, which they soon lose in after life. The habit also of reading much and superficially, a habit now universal throughout the educated part of the community, accelerates the decay of that peculiar zest, which usually accompanies the first willing efforts of childhood and youth. Readers who enter with deep enthusiasm into their subject, are amongst those chiefly who read comparatively little. It is impossible for either the mind or the body exquisitely to enjoy a feast every day. The most attentive care to avoid literary repletion will not give to maturer years some of those peculiar delights which we remember to have felt in childhood, but the traces of which we find it impossible to recover.

In perusing, for instance, a narrative like that before us, interested as we certainly have been, we cannot feel again the exact sensations with which we read in infancy the voyages of Capt. Cook, or other navigators or circumnavigators to the same country. We have heard and read of too many savages to realize those feelings of awe, and astonishment, and curiosity, and pleasing terror, which we once experienced, but have now for ever lost, and which our children are now experiencing to lose it in their turn.

But though, in point of mere *sensation*, a narrative of voyages or travels necessarily parts with its power, in proportion as the mind is matured and knowledge enlarged, there are other views in which it is rendered even more interesting than it would have been in all the simplicity and raciness of early youth. The fact is, that it furnishes important materials for *thinking;* which is as much the delight of the advanced mind as feeling is our delight in the earlier stages of knowledge and experience. If the mere difference of colour, or climate, or modes of life, cannot again excite any of those youthful emotions of wonder, or contempt, or abhorrence, to which they once gave rise; yet the moral and physical varieties of the species will still furnish subjects of contemplation and profound delight.

Now in *both* these points of view the volumes before us deserve notice. They contain, on the one hand, a very interesting and apparently faithful delineation of savage life in one of its lowest and most degrading, yet one of its most energetic and manly forms, and amongst a nation hitherto comparatively but little known. They cannot, therefore, fail to interest even the younger members of the family party; while at the same time, by opening new worlds to our view, by furnishing fresh materials for speculation, by throwing new light upon the history and habits of the species, they commend themselves to the notice of the philosopher and

political economist: we might have added of the zealous Christian also, who cannot but feel interested in the promotion of the moral and religious welfare of the barbarous, yet noble race of beings, whose manners are here detailed, and for whose spiritual benefit we are happy to find that the benevolent exertions of our fellow countrymen and fellow churchmen have been already exerted.

The two islands which constitute New Zealand, though visited and minutely described by Capt. Cook, seem since that period to have been almost entirely neglected; and we are sorry to say that the few visits made to them have been far from favourable to the desirable object of a permanent intercourse. We well remember the characteristic remark of a sailor, who was punished in Capt. Cook's first voyage for going on shore, and stealing the potatoes of the natives—that "he thought a British seaman had a right to do such things to the Indians." The additional half dozen lashes which he received for this notable speech do not seem to have eradicated this opinion from the minds of his contemporaries and successors. The fact is, that almost all the intercourse of Europeans with the natives has been that of spoliation and revenge. Constant quarrels have arisen from the insults of the sailors to their women; and with so little ceremony have the feelings or the rights of this people been treated that private individuals, and even chiefs, who have visited European vessels, have been carried off, either because the captain was not in a humour to take the trouble to land them, or because he had occasion for their services on board his vessel. We regret to say, that all the attempts made to stop these lawless proceedings have hitherto failed. The stations of benevolent settlers are constantly rendered insecure by means of these outrages, nor can any thing effectual be done for civilizing the natives, till such measures shall be adopted by government itself as shall secure their confidence and esteem. The efforts of private philanthropy cannot possibly succeed while they are constantly counteracted by the brutal and unprovoked incursions of South-Whalers, and other European crews, who often land on the New Zealand shores to supply their immediate necessities, without any calculation as to what may be the effects of their conduct upon the fate of others who shall touch there in future. The natural result is, that in more than one instance a fearful revenge has been taken by the natives upon the innocent for the provocations of the guilty. Mr. Kendall, a missionary settler in New Zealand, was recently appointed, by the Governor of New South Wales, a magistrate for those islands; and without his authority, certified in writing, no British subject was in future either to land, or to take a native on board. This measure has not, however, been effectual; and petitions we have understood

have been presented to the government at home to take some more effectual means for securing so humane and important an object. Unless something can be done, it will be almost impossible for benevolent persons to settle in the South Sea Islands with security to themselves, or with benefit to the inhabitants. It is true, that the prudent conciliating conduct of the Church of England Missionary Colony, at the Bay of Islands, has been such as to secure, amidst all these drawbacks on their popularity and influence, the respect and esteem of the natives, and that much benefit has in consequence accrued to the latter from their residence. It is true, also, that the natives have pledged themselves not to molest the brig Active, which belongs to the missionaries; while they would give no such pledge as to European vessels in general. But though these circumstances prove that the New Zealanders can make distinctions, and are not destitute of generous feelings, and that the missionary establishment has been such as to deserve their confidence; yet no man who knows the temper and character of savage nations, and more especially of these islanders, can doubt that imminent danger still impends over every European who touches on their shores, as long as unprovoked outrages shall continue to be received from other European visitors, who have not the principle or feeling to regulate their conduct by the rules of justice or humanity.

The New Zealanders, it is well known, are addicted to cannibalism; whether through dearth of food, or preference for this horrid banquet, or only from principles of revenge in the case of enemies slain in war, has been a subject of dispute. Mr. Nicholas inclines to the latter opinion.* But which soever of these

* "My opinion on the subject is, that a kind of superstitious revenge is the grand actuating principle that incites them to this horrible practice. Born in the grossest ignorance, and nurtured amidst wild dissensions, they give loose to all the violence of their ungovernable passions; while superstition teaches them to believe that their revenge can reach beyond the grave, and that the future existence of their wretched victims must be totally annihilated, by this unnatural destruction of their mortal remains. With this shocking idea the children are bred up from their infancy; when hearing continually of bloody achievements, and learning from the lips of their fathers the various deeds of carnage in which they have been engaged, they grow up so much habituated to these enormities, that they consider them congenial with their very existence, while they form the favourite topic of their conversations, and the darling theme of their poetical rhapsodies. But there are several circumstances which serve to corroborate, if not to establish, the opinion I here offer on the subject in question. While they devour the bodies of their enemies with a furious greediness that instantly tears them reeking from the slaughter, they look with horror on the idea of feeding on the corses of their friends; and burying them with many superstitious obsequies, the place is for ever after held sacred against the intrusion of all persons who are not among the number of the initiated. Hence I should draw the conclusion, that the desire of devouring human flesh is not the motive that leads them to do so; but that the same superstition which disposes them to respect with the most scrupulous veneration the dead

opinions be true, there can be no doubt that revenge is their ruling principle of action. The narratives of different voyagers abound with illustrations of this point. Few readers have forgotten the dreadful relation given of the massacre of a boat's crew, belonging to Capt. Furneaux's vessel, the Adventure, by the natives of Queen Charlotte's Sound. A cutter, manned by seven seamen, under the command of the first mate, and accompanied by a lieutenant, and a servant, were to proceed up the Sound to Grass Cove, to gather vegetable produce for the use of the ship's crew. Night arriving without the return of the boat, the Captain destined the launch the next morning to proceed in search of the lost company. Instead, however, of finding the cutter, a scene the most horrible presented itself to view on their landing; the mutilated limbs and vitals of their lost associates were discovered in a mangled condition, partly broiled and partly raw, and accompanied with circumstances of aggravation and horror, which we cannot suffer ourselves to describe. The bodies appeared to have been divided among different parties of the savages; and the remains of them could not be recognized, except in a few cases, in which, either by some remaining article of dress still attaching to them, or by a wound or mark in the hands that were found, a trace of identity was inadvertently left.

With regard indeed to their cruelty and cannibalism Capt. Cook's people remarked that in most of the coves they found, near the places where fires had been made, the bones of men; and among the human heads that were brought on board, some had a kind of false eyes, and ornaments in the ears as if alive. Tasman, a Dutch navigator, who first discovered the islands in 1642, was attacked almost the moment he anchored, and had three of his men killed, and a fourth mortally wounded. He was obliged to sail away without landing, after bestowing upon the harbour the formidable appellation of "Murderer's Bay."

These and various other proofs of their cruelty and cannibalism might be easily adduced; but still, as we shall have occasion to see more fully in the course of these pages, the New Zealanders are a noble though savage race, and furnish materials of the most promising kind for the exertions of European benevolence. The horrid details which we have recited, and to which we are about to add one still more recent and not less painful, are but proofs of an untamed and uncivilized spirit, acting under the dictates of a barbarous education, and perhaps excited by

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bodies of their friends, acting conversely, impels them to gorge themselves upon the mangled remains of their hostile opponents. Such in my mind is the true cause of cannibalism in New Zealand, and I have now to observe that it does not prevail in this island alone, but is also common to some others in the Pacific Ocean."—(Vol. ii. p. 68, 69.)

numerous provocations with which we are not acquainted. The narrative of the destruction of the Boyd, which we are about to relate, will prove that their most atrocious acts spring from revenge for a real or supposed injury; and though we cannot plead in favour of so horrible a principle, yet we are willing to remove a part of our indignation from these untutored savages, in order to fix it upon those falsely-called civilized barbarians, whose conduct is usually the means of exciting it to action. We select the case of the Boyd, as illustrative both of the nature of those provocations to which the New Zealanders have been repeatedly exposed, and of the revenge which they have it often in their power, and always in their inclination to execute. The transaction also casts considerable light upon their general feelings and habits, and suggests no slight argument for conveying to them the knowledge and the practice of a better system.

It appears that the Boyd, a vessel of five hundred tons, commanded by Captain Thompson, was chartered in 1809 to take out convicts to Botany Bay, when, having completed her charter-party and received a number of passengers for England, she proceeded to New Zealand for a cargo of timber. Here the crew were surprised and massacred by the tribe of Wangeroa, commanded by a chief of the name of George, an appellation which seems to have been given him by the European sailors. This man, who had served on board an English whaler, and could speak our language fluently, appears, from the character which Mr. Nicholas gives of him, to have been fully capable of any transaction however base and lawless. In his features, which were not otherwise unsightly, there appeared to lurk a dark and subtle malignity of intention, and a depravity which fitted him for an actor in this atrocious proceeding. He had acquired from his intercourse with European sailors a coarse familiarity of manner bordering on impudence, and very distant from the native rudeness of his countrymen. On Mr. Nicholas's first accosting him he returned the compliment with an exclamation of "How do you do, my boy," in a tone of vulgar insolence. From this man our author received the following circumstances.

He had been, he stated, at Port Jackson, where he agreed with Captain Thompson to work his passage to his own country. Being however seized with severe illness during the voyage, he was unable to perform his duty, which the Captain not believing, or professing not to believe to be the case, he was threatened and abused for his supposed indolence. Mr. Thompson being a man of capricious temper, it was in vain for George to urge that his plea was but too well founded, and that his rank as a chief in his own country entitled him to some degree of decency and respect. The enraged Captain, paying no regard to

his remonstrances called him a *cookee cookee* (a common man), and ordered him to be tied to the gangway and flogged most severely. This degrading treatment on the part of the Captain taking away all restraint from the ship's company, George was subjected during the remainder of the voyage to every indignity and cruelty which they had it in their power to devise or inflict.

Whether George meditated his revenge during the voyage, or was prompted by the favourable opportunity which presented itself, does not clearly appear; though, from the circumstance of his having told the Captain emphatically, in answer to a taunt respecting his not being a chief, that "he should find him such on his arrival at New Zealand," the former appears probable. The vessel (probably at the suggestion of George, though he would not acknowledge the fact) was anchored at Wangeroa, a harbour which had never, it is thought, been entered by any European vessel before, and which lying in the very territory of the offended chief gives great probability to the supposition that his scheme of revenge was projected before his landing.

Under these circumstances, the Captain, according to the statement of George, sent him on shore stripped of every thing English in his possession, even to his very clothes. Returning to his countrymen in a state of complete nudity, he related his hardships while on board. The indignant tribe immediately and peremptorily insisted upon revenge, and no plan short of murdering the crew and taking possession of the vessel could satisfy their fury. George consented, and a scheme for the purpose was instantly devised.

In the mean time Captain Thompson, without reflecting upon the character of the New Zealand savage, whose first and dearest principle of action is revenge; a revenge which, if George's narrative can be believed, had been but too sensibly provoked, had the rashness to leave the ship unprotected, and to proceed to the shore with only a boat's crew. On landing he found the natives prepared for his destruction. The duration of the dreadful tragedy was but short. The captain had scarcely set his foot on shore when he was knocked down and murdered, and all his sailors having immediately shared the same fate, were stripped by the barbarians, who, immediately dressing themselves in the clothes of their victims, hastened to the ship to complete the carnage. On their arrival they instantly overpowered and massacred the crew with all the passengers. Those who had concealed themselves at the commencement of the action, with the exception of three, were discovered and dragged from their concealment to suffer the most excruciating torments. Some of the sailors, who had run up the rigging in hopes that when the fury of the savages had subsided they might possibly be spared, met

with the same fate as their companions. The abovementioned three, who had eluded the search till the thirst for blood was satiated, were afterwards treated with mercy, as well as the cabin boy, whom George had spared on account of some kindnesses received from him during the voyage. Not less than seventy persons are calculated to have perished in this furious carnage; and, to add to the horrors of the scene, their mangled carcasses were devoured to glut still further the revenge of their inveterate murderers.

An attempt was made some time after by the crews of several whalers to retaliate the injury; but unhappily (whether wilfully or not is not apparent) their vengeance fell upon an innocent tribe whose chief had been ever the friend and protector of the English. His island was completely depopulated. Neither age nor sex was spared. Tippahee himself, the chief, just escaped with his life, though severely wounded; and his cottage still remains in ruins in the midst of a desert island, an affecting memorial of this disgraceful transaction.

The immediate object of the voyage before us was to establish a missionary settlement in New Zealand. The design had been here recommended to the Church Missionary Society by the Rev. S. Marsden, his Majesty's principal chaplain in New South Wales; and though from the uncivilized character of the natives it appeared to most persons, and especially to the inhabitants of Port Jackson, a dangerous and unpromising experiment, yet from the more minute inquiries which Mr. Marsden had it in his power to make, he thought he discovered features in the New Zealanders which justified a higher estimate than that which was generally current, and induced him to spare no effort or exertion for their civilization and religious advantage. Indeed his intercourse at Port Jackson with different New Zealanders, whom he had made a practice of inviting to his house and entertaining with kindness in order to elicit their character, had induced him to think that with all their faults the natives of those long-dreaded coasts possess a considerable degree of manliness, and generosity of character; and he determined, as far as possible, to wipe away the odium that had attached in their minds to the very name of Europeans, by pursuing towards them a line of conduct the very reverse of that to which they had hitherto unhappily been accustomed.

The voyage from New South Wales to the islands of New Zealand afforded considerable opportunities of discovering still more particularly the character of these people by means of several of them who, having landed at Port Jackson, determined to return with our voyagers to their native country. Among these were three chiefs, Duaterra, Shunghi, and Korra-korra. The

first of these was a man in the full bloom of youth, of tall and commanding stature, great muscular strength, and dignified and animated deportment. His noble and expressive countenance had not undergone the hideous operation of tattooing, so that he formed a very marked contrast to his brother chiefs, who had all submitted to this disgusting embellishment. His complexion was not darker than that of a Spaniard or Portuguese. But what added most to the pleasure excited by his personal appearance was his correct and unobtrusive deportment, which was the more extraordinary from the circumstance of his having but very recently mixed with civilized human beings, and those only of the rudest orders. Mr. Nicholas had occasion some time after to visit this lamented chief in his dying hours; and we shall avail ourselves of that part of his narrative to introduce Duaterra again to our readers, with some particulars of his eventful life extracted from other sources.

Shunghi was a chief of higher rank and more extensive dominions than Duaterra. He was not equally robust in his person; and his countenance, which was marked with the tattoo, wanted that noble serenity which characterized the other. As Duaterra's mind was devoted to agricultural pursuits, Shunghi's was bent exclusively on the mechanical arts, in which he gave extraordinary specimens of his skill and ingenuity. Among his other productions was a carving in wood of a New Zealander, which excited much attention at the colony of Port Jackson, by the boldness and fidelity of its design and execution. This man, though of a disposition the most mild and inoffensive, had the reputation of being one of the greatest warriors in his country.

The third chief, Korra-korra, was the very reverse of his companions in his manners and disposition. He despised both agriculture and the arts, and devoted himself exclusively to war. To this all his thoughts were turned with an avidity and enthusiasm bordering on madness. When recounting the battles he had fought, or singing the war song, he worked himself to a frenzy of exultation, inconceivable by a member of a civilized community. His whole frame shook with rage, his eyes flashed with ferocity, and a savage fury distorted every feature; yet, although thus transformed into a demon of vengeance and cruelty by his attachment to war, he was not incapable of the softer affections. He would immediately burst into tears upon offending any one who had rendered him a kindness. His expressions of gratitude and fidelity were remarkably sincere and vivid. Though delighting in battles, and utterly detesting the arts of peace, a single word of reproof, which he was conscious of deserving, would melt him into compunction. Furious beyond expression when provoked, he was gentle and affectionate when

well treated, and his friendship once gained might be relied upon as permanent.

Such were our voyagers' companions; from this description of whom a tolerably correct idea may be gained of their countrymen at large. Scarcely, however, had the passengers and crew embarked, when a circumstance arose which had nearly endangered the success of the whole plan, and might have been fatal to the lives, not only of the benevolent settlers who were about immediately to colonize the New Zealand shores, but of, perhaps, many other Europeans for years to come. The chiefs, on whose good will the success of the expedition depended, were seen to become suddenly gloomy, and sullen, and reserved. This strange alteration was particularly observable in Duaterra, whose animated and intelligent countenance became clouded with an impenetrable melancholy and moroseness. The other chiefs were not less gloomy; but the symptoms were not so evident in them as in Duaterra, whose dark brow, knitted into indignant frowns, showed but too plainly the violence of some internal passion. Surprised and disconcerted at this unexpected change of character, Mr. Marsden and his friend knew not how to act. The presents which the chiefs had received were of considerable value in their own country, and calculated to raise them high in the estimation of their fellow islanders. The utmost impartiality had been used in the distribution of them; yet as the slightest trifle was sufficient to excite the jealousy of these rival chiefs, it was at first imagined that their unusual change of deportment might have arisen from some supposed preference or neglect in the distribution. There indeed appeared no other possible reason, as all the chiefs had warmly concurred in the project of a missionary colony settling in their country. At length, however, Duaterra, with some hesitation, disclosed to Mr. Marsden his earnest wish that he had never embarked in the enterprise; and assigned as his reason, that a gentleman at Sydney had informed him that the whole was a deep laid scheme for seizing the island and destroying the natives, or at least reducing them to slavery. To proceed while such an opinion existed in the minds of the chiefs would have been a most hazardous experiment, as the lives of the missionaries and other colonists would necessarily be at their mercy. Mr. Marsden, therefore, after expostulating with Duaterra, and pointing out the real and benevolent designs of the intended colonists, frankly offered to return to Sydney Cove, and never more think of holding any intercourse with the country. This argument produced an instantaneous effect upon the chief, whose zeal for the civilization of his people nothing but so infamous a slander could for a moment have counteracted. Convinced of his error he implored Mr. Marsden to proceed, reassuring the

missionaries of his protection and fidelity, which, it is but justice to add, he continued to the last moment of his life. He could not, however, answer equally for the conduct of the other chiefs, whose knowledge of Mr. Marsden and the missionaries was less intimate and extensive. He therefore advised that the intended colony should be established in the Bay of Islands, where himself and his tribe could easily protect it. This request being readily complied with, Duaterra resumed his wonted good humour, and the vessel proceeded in peace towards her destination.

Mr. Nicholas regrets that he could not ascertain the name of the wretch who had propagated the slander—a slander, the effects of which might have been most direful. Duaterra, from a principle of honour, refused to disclose his author. For ourselves we are not anxious to penetrate the mystery; for we are sorry to say that in England, as well as New South Wales, there are not a few individuals who are equally active in imputing base motives to our missionaries, with the worthy gentleman to whom Mr. Marsden was so much indebted on this occasion. The worst that we wish, both to this nameless individual and to other individuals who shall be nameless also, is, that they may live to repent of misrepresentations, which are so much the worse from the circumstance of being directed against men of the most peaceful, religious, and industrious lives, and whose self denying sacrifices, in the cause of Christianity and their fellow creatures, ought surely to entitle them to something better than the obloquy to which, we regret to say, they are often exposed.

On Dec. 17, 1814, the vessel arrived off the North Cape, where our voyagers, by means of an amicable traffic, conciliated the confidence and esteem of the inhabitants. Thence they steered for the Bay of Islands, and on Dec. 19, found themselves in front of the harbour of Wangeroa, the scene of the fatal tragedy of the Boyd. At Rangehoo, in the abovementioned Bay, they landed and met with a friendly reception; and there established their little colony, consisting of Messrs. Hall and King, with their families, who were afterwards joined by Mr. Kendall, who is now acting in the useful capacity of schoolmaster, having a considerable number of native children under his care. The whole number of settlers, including women and children, amounted to twenty-five.

Having seen the mission established, the voyagers made an excursion from the Bay of Islands to visit the river Thames (so named by Cook) and the native settlements on its banks. After an absence of four months from Sydney, the vessel arrived there, bringing back a cargo of New Zealand timber, flax, &c. having planted a settlement which promises much towards civilizing the

natives, and rendering their country both important in point of commerce, and interesting for the moralizing and civilizing process which has even already begun to take effect.

Having thus slightly glanced at the narrative of the voyage, we proceed to give some of its results, and to sketch the conduct and character of the inhabitants whose country furnished the scene of the expedition.

In person the New Zealanders are a fine race of men, generally above the middle stature, some even six feet and upwards, and remarkable for perfect symmetry and muscular strength. Their countenances, with few exceptions, are pleasing and intelligent, and by no means indicate that ferocity which the imagination naturally attaches to cannibals.

Their dress consists of a large mat made of their native flax, which descends below the middle of the body, and is fastened round by a belt of the same material. Another, tied round the neck, is thrown negligently over the right shoulder, and hangs down quite loose like a Spanish cloak. These two articles of apparel complete the whole of their simple costume. We have seen specimens of these vestments which do high credit to their taste and skill; the borders being stained with pigments of different colours, in a manner really elegant and pleasing even to an European eye. Their love of finery, like that of most savage nations, is excessive. Many instances of this occur in the present volumes. For instance:

"Gunnah's merchandize consisted of a number of the white feathers of the gannet, which are universally worn by both sexes in this country, but prepared exclusively in the Bay of Islands, whence they are carried into the other districts, and form a staple article of trade. These feathers are neatly dressed, and each of them has a small piece of wood tied round the quill end, which serves to stick in the hair.

"Our humorous friend was now the magnet of attraction to all the ladies of the village, in consequence of his valuable and ornamental wares; and seating himself in the midst of the gay circle, he prepared to untie the box that enclosed the feathers, to gratify their impatient eyes. The sight at once filled the whole group with rapture; and taking some of the feathers out of the box, in which he had laid them with as much dexterity as if they had been packed up by the most experienced man-milliner in London, he stuck several of them in the heads of the surrounding ladies, who, when thus decorated, congratulated each other with extatic transports, while they individually betrayed a ludicrous self-complacency. He then counted out twelve of the feathers, and laid them down with much gallantry at the feet of the young damsel who had the mat, giving her at the same time a large bunch of the down of the gannet, which is used as an ornament for the ear: upon receiving these she immediately gave him the mat in exchange, and Gunnah, carefully tying up his box again, walked off to supply more customers." (Vol. i. p. 398, 399.)

Besides the common people, or *cookees*, the New Zealanders appear to possess three distinct orders; the lowest, or *rungateedas;* the chiefs; and the *areekees.* The *rungateedas* claim ascendency over the multitude, with many political privileges on account of their alliance with the chiefs; while the chiefs, though inheriting independent sovereignties, are obliged by the usages of the country to lend their services to the *areekee*, or principal chief, whenever he thinks proper to make war upon any other tribe. The *cookees,* or body of the people, are held in a state of vassalage, though, in some few instances, they appear to have an independent interest in the ground which they occupy.

The population, contrary to what might, perhaps, be expected from the fertility of the soil and the facilities for procuring food, is very limited and scattered. In the Bay of Islands the people are divided into small communities, living apart from each other, and which, taken collectively, amounted to but a very small number. The tribe of Rangehoo, which is the largest society in the group, scarcely reached the aggregate of three hundred souls; while in the principal town belonging to the areekee Wangeroa, which stands about twenty miles in the interior, only fifty or sixty inhabitants were found; and the utmost it could possibly contain would be about four hundred. The villages in general average only from twenty to fifty, or a hundred inhabitants. The largest number of warriors which Mr. Nicholas had an opportunity of seeing, and which comprised the whole male population of the surrounding districts, did not exceed, including both armies, the number of four hundred. Dr. Foster computes the inhabitants of New Zealand at 100,000 souls; but even allowing half as many more, and taking the number at 150,000, the aggregate will still be very small for the quantity of land. The northern island (Eaheinomauwe) contains about sixteen or seventeen millions of square acres; so that there will be seventy or eighty acres for the support of each individual, after deducting about one third for rivers, marshes, and those high lands which cannot be brought into cultivation. The Romans considered one acre as sufficient for an individual, and in a highly cultivated country still less may be sufficient; so that New Zealand, by this computation, might very possibly support one hundred times its present population.

Among the causes which check the population, may be enumerated the degraded state of the female sex, the practice of polygamy, constant wars, suicide, and numerous superstitions which materially thin their numbers.

With regard to the first of these, we find that in New Zealand woman is born only as a slave. She labours for her task-master while her health and youth remain; but the period soon arrives

when hardships and privations produce their natural effects upon her frame, and she is rendered no longer capable of further drudgery. The men by no means view themselves as cruel or unjust in their harsh conduct towards the female sex, considering them as an inferior species, whose most toilsome services they have a right to claim. They, on the other hand, are not conscious of their degradation, but submit to their fate with the patient endurance which they think becomes their character.

Polygamy, which we have mentioned as a second cause of the scantiness of the population, prevails almost universally among the inhabitants. The head wife exclusively appears to enjoy the affections of her husband, while all the inferior wives are treated by her, as well as by him, as a kind of servants, or humble dependants. They have none of the privileges connected with the name which they bear, except that of labouring for one who pays no attention to their wants or wishes, and feels no interest in their welfare, except as useful servants whom it might be inconvenient to lose.

The constant wars of the different tribes, and still more the modes of living necessary to such a state of things, are eminently unfavourable to the increase of their numbers. In this respect the feudal chieftainships are most injurious to the country. Were the inhabitants subject to but one governor, they would not be liable to those wars and barbarous dissensions to which the present system continually gives rise; but while under the arbitrary control of local and independent chiefs, it cannot be wondered at that perpetual and fatal hostilities should occur. In point of fact, there are constant struggles for separate interests, without any general regard to the welfare of the whole community; and thus the population is not only positively diminished on the one hand, but on the other is daily subjected to such restraints, and fears, and privations, as must necessarily tend to prevent its further increase.

Superstition also exerts its influence in the same cause. No sooner, for example, is a person seriously ill, than he is considered as under the wrath of the Etua, or Deity; and to attempt his cure would be considered at once an impious and unavailing effort. Many a victim is thus left to perish in the midst of his friends, who might easily have been restored to health and vigour. Nor is this the worst; for the unfortunate wife is expected, by the customs of the country, to immolate herself at the funeral of her husband, a mark of attachment which she seldom or never fails to bestow.

The character of the New Zealanders will, in a considerable measure, have appeared from these remarks, to which our readers will allow us to add still a few more. Among their vices, Mr.

Nicholas particularly mentions falsehood and selfishness. He relates, for example, as an instance of the former, that Korra-korra told the passengers a long story about a design that was entertained by some of the natives for cutting off the ship. According to this tale, it appeared that Madu, a man living in the same district with Pomaree, was much dissatisfied with the payments made for timber cut down by his men for the ship's cargo; and, in consequence, had plotted to surprise the vessel and massacre all on board; which intention would have been carried into effect on a particular day and hour, which Korra-korra expressly named, had not Tarra interfered, and promised protection to every ship that touched on his side the bay. This story, with all its embellishments, turned out to be nothing more than an extempore invention of Korra-korra, for no earthly motive that could be devised except the pleasure of telling a horrible tale. One of his countrymen was induced to own, upon this occasion, that the New Zealanders are rather too much accustomed to *henerecka*—telling falsehoods.

Their *selfishness* was apparent in every transaction with the ship's company; and their attempts to make a favourable bargain were not always conducted with the most conscientious scrupulousness. Mr. Nicholas loudly complains of them in this particular, and probably not without reason; but after all, the selfishness of a New Zealander is not greater than that of any other savage; nor indeed even greater than that which is witnessed every day in civilized society. The conduct of the navigators of a New Zealand canoe is but a rude sketch of the markets and exchanges of the first cities of Europe. The principle of selfishness is not the less though veiled by refinements, and restrained by salutary usages. Selfishness is the growth of all ages and all countries: unless, indeed, we except the self-devoted missionary, who resigns the comforts of civilized life to contend with the disgusting and degrading habitudes which characterize the barbarous and half-clad savage. Mr. Nicholas gives the following account of his attempt to cure one of his native customers of his insatiable cupidity.

"The New Zealanders are, of all the people I ever met with, the most importunate in their demands upon strangers, and some of them are of so covetous a disposition, that give them what you will, they are not to be satisfied. Old Bennee was a striking instance of this avaricious spirit, and I would not hesitate to pronounce him the sturdiest beggar in the whole island. Mr. Marsden gave him a large fish-hook and some other trifles, which *he* might consider gifts of immense value, but these did not prevent him from annoying us with his teasing solicitations whenever we approached him, and his constant cry was,

" Give it the wow," * " Give it the matow," † " Give it the tokee," which he kept ringing in our ears, even after he had obtained them. One day while he was on board, I was willing, if possible, to cure him of this propensity, which had now rendered him perfectly irksome to us: and considering that ridicule might perhaps be the most effectual method I could adopt, I resolved to practise it upon him, and try how far it might be conducive to my purpose. Walking, therefore, upon the quarter-deck, I would go up to him and say, " Bennee, homi wow," (*i. e.* Bennee, give me a nail;) when he would stretch out his hand in anxious expectation of receiving one, but instead of giving it to him, I would look gravely at him, and make another request, " homi matow," (give me a fish-hook;) when he would again hold out his hand with increased avidity; and disappointing him a second time, I would ask him again, " homi tokee," at which, unable to contain himself any longer, he would get into the wildest transports of delight, expecting every moment this treasure at my hands. At last, when I had thus raised his expectation to the highest pitch, and worked up his impatience to almost convulsive restlessness, I would say to him very coolly, " Bennee, homi kipoukee," (give me the ship,) when his features suddenly changing from the expression of extreme joy to that of the most dejected hopelessness, he would shake his head and cry, " Mr. Nicholas *nuee nuee henerecka*," (Mr. Nicholas jokes too much). This method had the desired effect, and the old chief, in his subsequent interviews with us, took very good care to restrain his impatience; while desisting from his troublesome urgency, he left it entirely to ourselves to give him whatever we thought proper." (Vol. ii. p. 32—34.)

Our author was not, however, always equally fortunate in his experiments on the native character. He once found that the anger of a savage is far too serious a trial of the human temper to be resorted to with safety. Having often seen Korra-korra in the full tide of his warlike paroxysms, he wished, it seems, to have an opportunity of observing his conduct under the impulse of irritated feelings. With a view to indulge his curiosity, he approached the place where the chief was sitting in conversation with his companions, and threw two or three small chips at him, which, however, he did not appear to notice, till, by repeating the experiment, Mr. Nicholas struck him rather sharply on the leg with a piece of wood, when Korra-korra, feeling the smart, snatched up a piece of pitch and aimed it, with ample retaliation, on the aggressor's face. This being our author's own seeking, he bore it with patience; and retiring shortly after into the cabin, was followed by the chief, who, having returned the injury in kind, was perfectly appeased and in good humour. Our author, however, somewhat foolishly persisting in making a trial of his temper, took a pair of pistols from his chest, and threatened to

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* Nail. † Fish-hook.

shoot him. The behaviour of Korra-korra was still composed, and without evincing either irritation or fear at so terrible an announcement, he began coolly to exculpate himself, by arguing that "it was not Korra-korra, but Mr. Nicholas who began first." Mr. Nicholas, however, repeated his threat with a firm and decided tone, telling him that nothing but his life could satisfy his resentment. Korra-korra now believing his intention really hostile, rushed upon him with an agility and strength which it was impossible to resist, and took instant possession of the pistols. Mr. Nicholas again appeased him by assuring him it was but a jest. Korra-korra now challenged our author in turn, giving him all the advantages of fire-arms. In a struggle that accidentally ensued, one of the pistols unintentionally exploded, when Korra-korra, thinking it a deliberate attempt on his life, instantly became ungovernably furious; and it required all the rhetoric of Mr. Marsden and our author to restore him again to reason. No sooner, however, was he convinced that he had mistaken Mr. Nicholas's intention, than, with a transition the most rapid, he burst into tears, and turned his reproaches upon himself, exclaiming, that "he was no good." Seeing Mr. Nicholas's finger slightly bleeding, he tore off a piece of linen that went round his own hair, and eagerly bound up the wound, the tears streaming from his eyes, and all his features expressing extreme concern that he had even inadvertently injured his friend in the struggle. An apparently trifling anecdote like this speaks most forcibly the noble character of these uncultivated islanders.

The strong feelings of the sturdy Korra-korra were evidenced on various other occasions. Once, in particular, on meeting by accident an aunt whom he had not seen for some time, the chief immediately fell upon her neck, in which posture they remained a considerable time, each talking in a low and mournful voice; then disengaging themselves from each other, they gave vent to their feelings by a flood of tears. The brave and hardy chief continued for a quarter of an hour leaning on his musket and weeping; when one of the young women, a daughter of his aunt, approached him, and a similar scene again occurred. Tui, another native, with whom our voyagers were intimate, priding himself on imitating the manners of Europe, told Mr. Nicholas that *he* would not weep, but would behave *like an Englishman*, and began to enter into careless conversation, attempting to force his spirits the whole time. His fortitude was, however, soon subdued; for being joined by a young chief about his own age, he flew to his arms, and bursting into tears, indulged the same emotions as the others. Such is the conduct of man unsophisticated, and unrestrained by the feelings of civilized society!

The islands of New Zealand do not produce any great variety

either of the animal or the vegetable race. Few flowers adorn its soil; and though the climate is fine, and the country well watered by rivers, the chief indigenous vegetable productions are fern, flax, and pine-trees of various kinds, some of which are unknown to Europeans. The fern, which grows here to a prodigious size, is the most important article of their food. They prepare it by heating it on a fire, and then pounding it with a mallet till it becomes soft and fit for eating. It has a sweetish and not unpleasant taste.

The *cultivated* products of the islands appear to be chiefly gourds, cabbages, turnips, Indian corn, and potatoes. Wheat and peas have been introduced by Europeans, but were not, at the period of our author's narrative, commonly known. The benevolent exertions of the missionaries promise rapidly to supply this defect. We have lately seen in Mr. Kendall's journals various notices of excursions to plant corn, or perform other agricultural offices for the natives. This is truly an enlightened species of benevolence. It is introducing the blessings of civilization and religion in their natural conjunction. Nothing will conduce so rapidly to raise this people from a state of barbarism and indolence, as this encouragement of the more simple artificial wants of European life. If these can be once excited, industry, peace, and security, will follow in their train. The Moravians, who have ever exhibited one of the most perfect models of missionary wisdom, have always made religion and civilization go hand in hand. We are glad to find that the Church Missionary Society has followed this enlightened policy. Moral lectures and abstruse religious discourses are likely to produce but little effect *at first* in reclaiming a people so totally immersed in ignorance and barbarity. The persons, therefore, who have been sent to this interesting colony, we are happy to find, are not only men of religious habits and scriptural attainments, but experienced and useful mechanics, who can instruct the natives to cultivate their ground, build their houses, and, in short, can regulate and improve their whole domestic economy. Every attention has been paid to excite habits of regular industry among them. The timber and flax with which the islands abound are likely in this point of view, to prove of great value to the natives; who, in proportion as they can be excited to commercial transactions, will find their habits of life necessarily improve. We are glad to learn that the missionaries proceed as far as possible upon the principle of barter rather than gift; and that the natives in their exchanges seem greatly to prefer articles of utility, among which iron tools, fish-hooks, &c. are most in demand. The latter are always welcome, as the coasts abound with numerous kinds of fish, so excellent as to have excited the praises of almost every navi-

gator who has touched upon these shores. No noxious animals have been found throughout the country.

The flax which has just been mentioned grows in great profusion, and in every kind of soil. The natives convert it to a variety of purposes, particularly for clothing, cordage, and fishing nets. The plant rises to the height of from five to seven feet, and very little trouble is requisite for its preparation. Samples of this flax, we have understood, have been brought to England for the purpose of experiment; but have not as yet fully answered the hopes which Mr. Nicholas and others seem to have entertained. It is trusted, however, that under more favourable circumstances the experiment will be attended with greater success; and at all events the commodity will be a valuable staple produce to the New Zealand Islands. The improvement of the native manufacture, by means of the European modes of culture and management, is an object of much attention with the settlers. Some of the chiefs and others have attended practically to the subject, and evince considerable ingenuity in acquiring the art of rope-making, &c. The benefits of their intercourse with Europeans will thus be speedily felt; especially as a school is instituted for the education of the native children under the care and superintendence of Mr. Kendall. We happen to have seen several of his manuscript lists, marked in the usual method of our national schools. His general rewards for punctual attendance and good conduct appear to be a needle, a nail, a small article of clothing, &c. and sometimes a fish, or other cheap article of provision. The names of the children, which are usually taken from some sensible object, and the excuses for non-attendance, such as going to fish for cockles, &c. render these lists sufficiently amusing, by the contrast between civilized and savage life. Indeed it will be easily conjectured that the habits of the latter are very adverse to scholastic discipline, and we are, therefore, only the more surprised and pleased to find that Mr. Kendall has already succeeded to an extent which we should scarcely have imagined practicable. We certainly wish the settlers every possible success in this important but arduous part of their labours; believing, as we do, that upon the early instruction of the young must depend much of the prosperity of all missionary efforts. We are glad to find this point so generally recognized. Almost every missionary settlement throughout the world, we believe, now makes the education of children a considerable part of its employment. For such are the habits of savage life, that scarcely any impression can usually be made upon the adult population. Even in North America, Indians, after spending years in the United States, are often found to revert to their original barbarism, despising the customs and restraints of civilization. The same remark applies to New Zealand, and the other South Sea Islands.

Mr. Nicholas met with an athletic, well-made man in New Zealand, who was an Otaheitean by birth, and whose history furnishes a strong corroboration of this tendency. At the age of eleven or twelve, Tishopango, or, as he was called by the English sailors, Jem, was brought from Otaheite to Port Jackson, where he was taken into a respectable service, and educated with the greatest benevolence and attention. His improvement was so rapid as to procure him great commendation, and his prospects in life seemed very favourable and inviting. But Jem, amidst all his new splendour, found the restraints of civilized life a burden, and longed for the easy, desultory employments of his untutored countrymen. To gratify his inclination, he embarked as a sailor on board an English vessel, and, by what chance no person knows, arrived at New Zealand, where, notwithstanding the barbarism of the natives, so greatly behind those of his own country, he determined to settle. Mr. Nicholas found him living at the North Cape, where he had married the daughter of a deceased chief, to whose power and territory he had contrived to succeed.

Another still more remarkable instance of the preference by these children of nature of their native habits to those of civilized life occurs in the case of Moyhanger, a New Zealander, whom many of our readers may recollect as having visited London and been introduced to his Majesty about ten years ago, and whom Mr. Nicholas, after much inquiry, met with in his native country. Mr. Savage, who brought him to England, speaks highly of his good sense and correctness of conduct, both which particulars our author had reason to think somewhat overcharged. Mr. Savage introduced him, when in London, to Earl Fitzwilliam, whom he represented to Moyhanger as "a chief" of considerable rank. The New Zealander accordingly entered the mansion with becoming respect, and was highly delighted with the furniture and paintings; but still more with the affability of his Lordship and the Countess, and the other "chiefs" who were present at the interview. The ornamental parts of the furniture did not excite so much of his admiration as might have been expected: and when he was supposed to be admiring some remarkably fine mirrors and other striking objects, it appeared that he was only counting the number of the chairs. He observed that *Nuee nuee tungata noho tippeehee*—"a great number of men sit with the chief." As often as the Earl turned his back, Moyhanger whispered to Mr. Savage, "a very good chief." He expressed an intention on his return to New Zealand of imitating a bust of his Lordship with which he had been much delighted; but notwithstanding all he had seen and enjoyed in civilized society, Mr. Nicholas found him now totally destitute of any desire to visit it again. He prefers his native fernroot to the

roast beef of Old England. He seemed totally destitute even of curiosity about his friend Mr. Savage, being wholly absorbed in the more agreeable employment of thinking what he should ask for from the European visitors. Some nails were given him, and also a cat, to which he had taken a more than ordinary partiality. The expedition of this man to England does not seem to have produced any benefit whatever to his country; for being only a *cookee* he had no power to enforce any improvements which he might think proper to suggest. The greatest piece of intelligence which he seemed to have acquired by his travels was, that King George was a *nuee nuee areekee*, a very very great king; but that the governor at Port Jackson, *proh pudor!* was no king at all.

The missionaries, as already intimated, were received with great kindness by the natives, who, by Duaterra's influence, exerted themselves with indefatigable industry to complete a large building for the immediate reception of the settlers. The dimensions of this structure were sixty feet in length and forty in breadth. They built the walls with strong posts fastened in the ground at short distances from each other, and interwoven with flags and rushes. On the top of the posts they placed a rail, to which the rafters were fastened, and the roof was of a ridge-like form, and thatched with rushes. The interior of the building was divided by partitions into four apartments, one for each family.

In this building the missionaries and their families assembled on the first Sunday after its erection to perform divine service. The chiefs and many of the natives attended, and behaved with the greatest propriety. The ground being wet, they spread their mats for our voyagers to put their feet upon, and were in every respect very friendly and obliging. Duaterra came in *nuee nuee caradee*, (very, very angry) with his wife, who could not be persuaded to appear in the English dress which had been given her, on account of being exposed by means of it to the ridicule of her countrywomen. It appears, however, that she discovered her good taste in this instance, the dress being peculiarly unbecoming to her person.

This was not, however, the first opportunity the natives had had of seeing our religious service; for a fortnight before, on Christmas Day, the missionaries, with their families and the crew, had gone on shore for this purpose. As soon as our voyagers landed, Korra-korra drew up all his men rank and file into the enclosure, where the whole population of Rangehoo had assembled to witness their arrival. The chiefs were dressed in their war costume with their arms at their sides, keeping the people in good order, and awaiting, with becoming silence and gravity, the commencement of the service. Mr. Marsden, dressed in his surplice, ascended the place assigned for him, which was covered

over with the black cloth manufactured in the country, and began, in a solemn and impressive manner, the service of the day. The natives, ranged in a circle at a convenient distance, were directed by Korra-korra, who seems to have made an admirable beadle on the occasion; flourishing a cane to indicate when they were to rise or sit, as he saw the English do; and tapping on the head, with all due solemnity, such as seemed inclined to talk or trifle. They behaved, however, too well to need much of his assistance in this last respect. The prayers being finished, Mr. Marsden explained to his rude auditors, through the medium of Duaterra, the great importance of what they had heard, which was the doctrine of the only and true God, whom they should be anxious to know and worship, and whose will the settlers would more fully explain. Duaterra was ready enough to act as interpreter in the communication of these "glad tidings," and the natives were not a little importunate in asking questions about "this new thing."

"The service ended, we left the enclosure; and as soon as we had got out of it, the natives, to the number of three or four hundred, surrounding Mr. Marsden and myself, commenced their war dance, yelling and shouting in their usual style, which they did, I suppose, from the idea that this furious demonstration of their joy would be the most grateful return they could make us for the solemn spectacle they had witnessed. It was not, however, without feelings of sincere pleasure at the promise afforded by this day, of the future success of the mission, that we stepped into the boat to return to the ship; and the chiefs, with their people, gave us every reason to hope that they might, at no distant period, become as civilized as they were brave, and as enlightened as they were hospitable." (Vol. i. p. 206.)

The lamented young chief Duaterra, who acted so conspicuous a part on this occasion, and who died not long after, appears to have been one of those enlightened and benevolent individuals who are sometimes to be found even in savage countries, and who, in after ages, are celebrated as the inventors of arts and sciences, and the founders of their country's welfare. Unhappily he did not live sufficiently long to realize the hopes which had been formed relative to the advantages likely to accrue to his countrymen from his exertions.

Duaterra, of whose eventful history we are about to give a few traces, more connected than those to be found in Mr. Nicholas's immediate narrative, was born in New Zealand, and first left his country in 1805, on board the Argo whaler, for Port Jackson. During a cruise which the Argo made for fish on the coast of New Holland, Duaterra acted in the capacity of a common sailor, and was attached to one of the whale boats, when, after twelve months' service, he was discharged in Sydney Cove without any remuneration for his services. Leaving the Argo, he entered on

board the Albion whaler, the captain of which treated him kindly, and landed him, after six months' service, on his native shore. He shortly after entered on board the Santa Anna, which touched at New Zealand in her way to Bounty Island for seal-skins. At Bounty Island, Duaterra, with one of his countrymen, two Otaheiteans, and two Europeans, were put on shore for some months to kill seals; in performing which engagement their scanty provision failed, and they were nearly famished before the return of the vessel. On its arrival, Duaterra, impressed with the romantic desire to see the "great chief," King George, re-embarked as a common sailor, and arrived in the port of London in July, 1809. He often requested, but in vain, to be allowed to gratify his curiosity; but was constantly told either that the captain could not find the house where King George lived, or that his Majesty never permitted himself to be seen. In about a fortnight after arriving in the Thames, and without having been permitted to spend a single night on shore, the captain transferred him to the Ann, bound for New South Wales with convicts, refusing to give him either clothes or money for his services.

About this time the unfortunate chief, from hardships and disappointments, was seized with a dangerous illness, and was altogether so naked and miserable, that the master of the Ann could scarcely be persuaded to take him on board. It so happened that Mr. Marsden had been ordered to embark for his chaplaincy on board that vessel, where, for some time, he did not even know of Duaterra being on board, as he was then confined below by sickness. When Mr. Marsden first observed him, he was wrapped up in an old great coat, very sick and weak, affected with a violent cough and spitting of blood. His manly vigour was fled, his mind was greatly dejected, and he appeared about shortly to resign his miserable existence. In reply to Mr. Marsden's questions, he narrated the shameful hardships and wrongs he had received on board the Santa Anna, where he had been constantly beaten by the sailors, which was the cause of his spitting blood, as well as defrauded of his wages, and prevented seeing the King. Mr. Marsden endeavoured to sooth his afflictions, and promised him a supply of every want, and protection from insult. By the kindness of the surgeon and master he gradually recovered his health and spirits, and cheerfully performed his duty as a sailor. His gratitude for the attention shown him was unbounded.

Arriving at his destination, he resided some months with Mr. Marsden, till, anxious to see his country and friends once more, that gentleman procured him a passage on board the Frederick; the master of which willingly received both him and three other

New Zealanders, then resident in New South Wales, on condition that they should assist him in procuring his cargo of oil, after which he would land them on their own shore. All four being fine young men, and accustomed to the sea, were a valuable acquisition to the master. After performing their engagement for six months, and finding that the Frederick was about to return to England, they looked to the master for the fulfilment of his stipulation. At that time the vessel was at the mouth of the Bay of Islands, where they all resided, so that there could be no difficulty in putting them on shore. Under various excuses, however, the captain declined performing his promise, and bore away from the harbour. The broken-hearted Duaterra, who had now been absent several years from his wife and friends, was sent on shore at Norfolk Island, with his three countrymen, for water for the vessel, where they were all nearly drowned, having been washed under some hollow rocks. In such danger was he of losing his life in this perilous expedition, that, to use his own nervous expression, his "heart was full of water." The ship being well wooded and watered, and the master having no further need of the New Zealanders' services, he left Duaterra and two of his companions on Norfolk Island, having landed expressly to take away the fourth, who was a young chief, by force, notwithstanding his tears and earnest entreaties to remain with his companions. Thus basely deserted, defrauded of their wages, and left almost naked in an island where they had not a single friend, they were obliged to take their chance of the first vessel that might casually touch upon it, which fortunately was the Ann, commanded by a Mr. Gwynn, who supplied them with necessaries, and landed them once more in the neighbourhood of Mr. Marsden.

Duaterra often described, in the most piteous manner, his distress while in sight of his own district, which he was not permitted to touch, and still more when left on Norfolk Island without any prospect of ever revisiting his native shores. When he sailed from Port Jackson he had been benevolently supplied with seed wheat, agricultural tools, and various other articles, of all which he was despoiled in the voyage. His share also of the oil that had been procured by the Frederick, as well as that of his unfortunate companions, would have amounted, Mr. Gwynn stated, to one hundred pounds sterling each. Mr. Marsden again procured him a passage in another vessel, by which, to his unspeakable joy, he was at length landed safely amongst his subjects and friends.

During his residence with Mr. Marsden, he had been indefatigable in acquiring useful information, and particularly a knowledge of agriculture, in which he took great delight. With a spirit of philosophy far above his means of information, he

discerned the great advantages of agriculture in a national point of view, and was most anxious that his country should reap the natural advantages which he was conscious it possessed. He had been a second time supplied with seed wheat, a portion of which, upon his arrival at New Zealand, he judiciously distributed among six chiefs and a number of common men, assuring them that the Europeans made biscuit of it, such as they had seen and eaten on board their ships. A tale like this was, of course, too marvellous to gain credit; they resolved, however, to try the experiment, and, in consequence, put their wheat into the ground. It grew well; but before it was ripe many of them became impatient for the produce; and as they expected to find the eatable parts at the root, as in their potatoes, they carefully examined the roots; when finding no wheat under ground, they pulled it all up and burned it, deriding Duaterra for attempting to impose upon their credulity. In time, however, his own crop, and that of his uncle Shungee, came to perfection, and was duly reaped and threshed. Still the manufacture of the article was impossible without a mill, and the natives, though much astonished that the grain was produced at the top instead of the bottom of the plant, could not be persuaded after all that wheat could make bread. Duaterra shortly afterwards had an opportunity of borrowing a pepper, or coffee mill from the Jefferson whaler, that happened to put into the Bay of Islands; but this being unfit for the purpose, only exposed him to new ridicule. He at length contrived to send a message to Mr. Marsden, by another vessel that casually anchored in the bay; and this gentleman very benevolently sent him out, by the Queen Charlotte, not only a mill, but some seed wheat, with hoes, and other agricultural tools. Unfortunately the vessel passed New Zealand without touching any where, and was afterwards seized by the natives of Otaheite, and the consignment taken or destroyed. Mr. Marsden appears to have been much concerned at these repeated disappointments to Duaterra's benevolent projects for the civilization and improvement of his countrymen; and in consequence determined, under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, to establish a more certain and regular communication with New Zealand, and, if practicable, to found a settlement for the conversion of the natives. With this design a voyage of inspection was made, previously to sending out the families of the intended colonists. By this conveyance, Duaterra, having received a steel mill, a sieve, and other implements for his purpose, invited the chiefs and other natives to witness the ceremony of grinding his wheat and preparing bread. This was indeed a moment of triumph to the patriotic man, the natives dancing and shouting around him for joy the instant they saw the meal; and still more when, by means

of a frying pan which he happened to have in his possession, he baked a cake after the patriarchal manner, and presented it to his astonished and delighted friends. The chiefs immediately requested some more seed corn, and there can be little doubt that having discovered that "wheat will make bread," they will appreciate and improve the gift. We know of no greater benefactor to his race than the man who first plants upon a foreign shore the seed which is to nourish and sustain future generations of human beings long after he himself is laid low.

Duaterra returned to Port Jackson by the vessel that had gone on this preliminary voyage of inspection; and shortly afterwards accompanied Mr. Marsden, our author, and the missionaries, in the voyage before us. His important services in assisting the enterprise will already have been appreciated: and, indeed, it would have been almost impossible to have established the settlement without his active concurrence, which, to the honour both of his head and his heart, he readily bestowed; though he never entirely overcame the diabolical suggestion which had been insinuated into his mind relative to the ultimate intentions of the colonists. He was too warm a patriot to bear with patience the thought of his country being enslaved by the English; and this poisoned arrow seems to have rankled in his mind, and to have embittered his dying moments. The same idea seems, also, to have been a considerable impediment to his religious improvement. When Mr. Kendall first saw him, he appeared in a fair way to shake off his heathen customs altogether; but having imbibed strong prejudices against the missionary establishment, he, on his return to New Zealand with our voyagers, joined with his countrymen in all their superstitions, and finally altogether relapsed. Still, however, he had the merit of both introducing and settling the colonists, and thus, we trust, of perpetuating benefits to his country of no vulgar or ordinary magnitude. One of his earliest complaints to Mr. Marsden, when found on board the Ann, was, that the New Zealanders "did not know how to make a Sunday"—a complaint which it is to be hoped will be speedily remedied.

Duaterra was taken ill during the visit of our voyagers to the Bay of Islands, and was attended by them with the most affectionate solicitude, as, independent of the importance of his assistance to the objects of the mission, he had acquired by his personal character and conduct no small portion of their esteem and regard. It was with great difficulty they obtained admission to his death-bed; on account of the superstitious practice of *tabooing* the sick, by which they are interdicted from all commerce with society. At the subsequent stages of his disorder this difficulty increased to an impossibility. The *Etua*, they imagine,

enters the body of the sick man, and begins to consume the vital parts; from which period, to administer food or assistance is considered at once hopeless and criminal. Mr. Marsden, having gained admittance by threats, found the chief in a shed, or rather enclosure, for it was quite open at top, where he lay stretched upon the ground, exposed to the burning rays of the sun, and surrounded by his wives and relations, who were watching for his death in silent expectation. The priest was present arranging the whole proceedings, and suffering nothing to be done without his interference. The utmost grief appeared to prevail amongst the spectators, for Duaterra was greatly beloved by his own tribe as well as by the Europeans. Though so weak as to be scarcely able to articulate a word, he fixed his languid eye on Mr. Marsden with an expression of pleasure, as if he felt consolation in once more seeing this tried and faithful friend. His frame, once so athletic and robust, was now rapidly decaying, and was worn away almost to a skeleton: for since the *taboo* had been put on he was not allowed to receive any sustenance, so that there was nothing to support life during the intermissions of a severe malady. While thus languishing under the last stage of exhaustion, he implored in indistinct accents a little wine from the settlement; which being taken to him in the course of the day, he appeared for a moment something revived, but soon became again feeble and exhausted. The decanter was not allowed to be taken away, being now *tabood;* as was every thing connected with the expiring chief, whose death they considered would be greatly accelerated by a violation of the interdict. Before Duaterra expired, he gave orders to his people to deliver up to the missionaries some iron of theirs which he had in his possession; but which, like every thing else being now *tabood*, was not returned without much reluctance on the part of the natives, who afterwards ascribed the fatal turn which the disorder took to the infringement of the *taboo*.

This promising young man was but about twenty-eight years of age when he expired. The loss sustained by his country must have been very great, and indeed greater than the natives knew how to appreciate. He told Mr. Marsden with much triumph a short time before his death, "I have now introduced the cultivation of wheat into New Zealand. New Zealand will become a great country; in two years more I shall be able to export wheat to Port Jackson in exchange for hoes, axes, spades, tea, sugar, &c." Under this impression, he made arrangements with his people for a very extensive cultivation, and formed his plan for building a new town, with regular streets, after the European mode, on a beautiful tract of ground which commanded the harbour and the adjacent country. The site of the intended church

was particularly fixed. In short, his whole conduct evinced him to be a man of true patriotism and far more enlightened policy than could have been hoped for under the very unfavourable circumstances of his life. Mr. Marsden represents him as possessing clear comprehension, quick perception, and sound judgment; with a mind void of fear, and with manners mild, affable, and courteous.

Mr. Nicholas offers some concluding remarks on the propriety of regularly colonizing New Zealand. He argues, from the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate, and various other circumstances, that such a colony would soon become flourishing, and capable not only of supporting itself, but of being a blessing to the natives, and an advantage to the mother country. The whole of the northern island, and a considerable part of the southern, are well adapted for the growth of every kind of grain, and for all the rich vegetable products of the warmest parts of Europe. The timber of its extensive forests already finds a quick sale in the market of Port Jackson. The smaller timber is always welcome at Calcutta. The fisheries would be an invaluable source of wealth. Ursine-seals, or sea-bears are found in great numbers to the southward, and their skins are even at present a lucrative article to the merchants at Port Jackson. The native flax has been already mentioned. Land might be purchased of the chiefs for the price of a few axes, hoes, and implements of agriculture; and in the absence of the legalized forms of Europe, be secured by the taboo, which none of the natives dare violate. The church missionary settlers regularly purchased their land; for landed property is accurately defined in New Zealand, there being among the chiefs a mutual recognition of their respective territories, on which no encroachment must be made without the general consent. In the purchase just mentioned, the parties for the natives not being able to write, one of them ingeniously hit upon the expedient of giving a fac-simile of the tattooing on his face by way of signature. Mr. Nicholas presents us with a copy of the title-deeds: "Know all men to whom these presents shall come, that I, Ahoodee O Gunna, King of Rangee Hoo, in the island of New Zealand, have in consideration of twelve axes to me in hand now paid and delivered, &c. &c."

We take our leave of the benevolent author, with many thanks for a narrative of considerable interest, and with an apology for having rather attempted to condense his materials than to make citations from his work. We very cordially recommend these volumes as a valuable accession to our stock of information respecting a race of men till of late but little known, but who appear well worthy of a more intimate acquaintance.

Art. V.—Dr. FRANKLIN'S LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE.

1. *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. Written by himself to a late Period, and continued to the Time of his Death*, by his Grandson, William Temple Franklin. *Now first published from the Original MSS. comprising the Private Correspondence and Public Negotiations of Dr. Franklin, and a Selection from his Political, Philosophical, and Miscellaneous Works.* 4to. pp. 538. Colburn. London, 1818.

2. *The Private Correspondence of Benjamin Franklin, LL.D. F.R.S. &c., comprising a Series of Letters on Miscellaneous, Literary, and Political Subjects: written between the Years* 1753 *and* 1790*; illustrating the Memoirs of his Public and Private Life, and developing the Secret History of his Political Transactions and Negotiations. Published from the Originals*, by his Grandson, William Temple Franklin. 8vo. 2 vols. pp. 962. Colburn. London, 1817.

It has been frequently objected, that national prejudices have hitherto prevented the English from acknowledging transatlantic merit. The French, in particular, have raised an outcry against the jealousy with which that formidable rival of the British empire, as they are pleased to consider America, has been regarded by its ancient masters. The charge of illiberality has been loudly sounded against all who have ventured to doubt whether this rising power has as much reason to be proud of her poets and historians, her Barlows and her Marshalls, as of her Washington, —of her successful cultivation of the arts and sciences, as of the result of her struggle for independence. We are inclined to admit that the accusation is not altogether without foundation. Englishmen, have been, perhaps, too apt to under-rate the merits of individuals among the Americans; but in making this concession we decidedly object to the principle on which the charge is founded. We have no share in that liberality of sentiment, which affects to consider it as a matter of no importance whether a new star first sheds its lustre on the banks of the Delaware, or is added as another luminary to our national glories. National attachments whether considered as good or bad in themselves, are, somehow or other, found for the most part in the same breasts where virtue and honour reside.

The foregoing observations are meant to obviate the imputation of prejudice to which we might be rendered liable by the freedom of our remarks on that extraordinary man who is the subject of this article. Franklin's life deserves to be accurately cha-

racterized, for his own sake, and for that of the public. Obvious reasons have concurred hitherto to prevent his character from being fully understood; and, at the same time, it has been held out by himself, as well as by his friends, as a model for the imitation of the rising generation. Thus the two objects which several of his correspondents proposed to him in undertaking his own memoirs, were, first, to influence youth to be good as well as eminent; and, secondly, to give a noble rule and example of self-education, instead of the "false principles and clumsy apparatus," on which "school and other educations constantly proceed." We shall enter into only one of these questions; for there is no occasion to waste any words in pointing out the absurdity of reckoning Franklin's want of education among the instructive lessons which his life affords. It will be seen that, self-taught in religion, he became a fatalist, a deist, a doubter of revelation; self-taught in morals, he had to learn, by his own losses, that it is for the good of society that man should be honest; self-taught in science, his attention was called away from original researches, by the necessity of reaching, through his own unassisted efforts, the very conclusion, at which others had arrived long before. The intention, therefore, of the present article is to inquire how far Franklin's life is calculated to point out the manner in which men may arrive at goodness and eminence.

It will be necessary, first, to give a brief account of the materials which are afforded for this purpose by the volumes under review. The Editor is the grandson of Dr. Franklin, who has compiled the life of his ancestor from the memoirs left by Franklin himself, of more than fifty years of it; a part of which, only, has been before the public, from Stuber's Continuation of the Life published, we perceive, in America, and from other sources of information of unquestionable authority. The second volume, which, however, was published first, and has already reached a second edition, is filled with Franklin's private and political correspondence, forming, by far, the most interesting part of the work: and a third is announced as being in the press, which is intended to contain extracts from his philosophical and miscellaneous writings. It will be naturally asked, why the greater part of these documents have been so long withheld from the public view. The reasons which the Editor has given for his reserve, do him high honour, and we give him credit for his prudence. Franklin had no sooner ceased from public employment, than the French revolution broke out in all its violence, and his known attachment to republican principles induced many a furious anarchist to quote his name and authority in support of practices which he himself would have been the last to sanction. His correspondence, too, exhibits his opinions of public men and measures so unreservedly,

that it could not have been produced earlier, without awakening painful recollections, and rekindling dying animosities. So entirely do we approve of the Editor's forbearance, that we could have wished it had extended to the suppression of some remarks on which we shall have occasion to animadvert in the sequel, and which ought not to have been left on record after the irritation which gave rise to them had subsided. Harsh judgments are as uncharitable in politics as in religion; and the claim to infallibility is not more arrogant and absurd in one case than in the other. Now, however, that Franklin's sentiments are no longer likely to be perverted by mischievous or mistaken men, we are glad that these memoirs are presented to the world in an authentic form, were it only for the sake of refuting the idle story that all his papers had been purchased, at an enormous price, by the British ministry, for the purpose of concealment. This tale, absurd and calumnious as it is, has yet, like every other absurd and calumnious tale, found its believers; and it might, and probably would, have been brought forward at a time when it would not have been so easy to prove its falsehood. A very few words will be necessary to characterize the execution of this work. Autobiography is always interesting, and of Dr. Franklin's it need only be said, that it is the best and most amusing part of the volume, in spite of a vulgarity and coarseness of style which is not to be found in his other writings. He says indeed himself that men do not dress for private company as for a ball; but this will not be admitted as an excuse for dirt and slovenliness. Still there is abundant reason for regret whenever the Editor has been obliged to fill up the chasms which Franklin's continual occupations compelled him to leave in his journal, and which are but ill supplied by the letters from which we are left to collect the principal incidents of the latter years of his life. Though the reader does not look for impartiality, and scarcely even desires it at the hand of an Editor circumstanced as the present, yet he has a right to expect, at least, a clear narration. If that is the best history of a man which is the most perspicuous and illustrative, the desired object has not yet been attained in Franklin's case: and the following outline of his life will be, on that account, somewhat fuller than would have been necessary, had the narrative been finished by the same hand which began it.

Benjamin Franklin was born January the 17th, 1706, at Boston, in New England, whither his father had emigrated for the sake of the free exercise of his religion. He was a Non-conformist, though descended from a family of staunch Protestants, who, to their credit, continued so during the persecuting reign of Mary. In those unhappy days, to possess a copy of the Scriptures was as dangerous as to espouse the party of the unfortunate Lady

Jane Gray. Franklin's great-grandfather had a large English Bible, which he fastened under the cover of a joint stool; and when he wished to read it to his family, he placed the stool on his knees, and stationed one of the younger children at the door to watch for the officer of the Spiritual Court. Such stolen piety must have been sincere; but it is mortifying to observe, that when the reformed religion became dominant, the same spirit of persecution which gave rise to the artifice compelled the descendant of this good man to quit his country, on account of the intolerance of the prevailing party. Franklin was the youngest son of a large family; but showing a readiness in learning to read, his father destined him, as the tithe of his sons, to the church, and sent him, at eight years old, to the Boston Grammar School. He soon, however, abandoned this idea, from a consideration of the expense of education, and, in less than a year, removed his son to a school for writing and arithmetic; and finally took him home, at ten years old, to assist in his own trade of a tallow-chandler and soap-boiler. Thus the occupation of the future zealous champion of American independence was now to cut wicks; to fill the moulds for cast candles; to attend the shop, and go of errands. A mind of meaner cast might have been forgiven for disliking his present trade, and Franklin soon declared his desire of going to sea. His father opposed his wishes, and probably wisely, for it appears that he did not long retain a predilection for this line of life, and afterwards, when it lay in his power, neglected to gratify it. It was nothing but a boyish wish for change; his residence in a sea-port town naturally suggested the idea to him, as the readiest means of escaping from a profession which he viewed with disgust. We are told that here he learnt to swim, an art in which he is well known to have excelled. He mentions having had a project, when he was first in London, of opening a swimming school, in consequence of an application made to him by Sir William Wyndham to teach his two sons:—had he put his plan into execution, he would probably have been the best professor of swimming in the world; but the Americans would have lost *their Franklin*, as they are fond of styling him. His strength and address soon distinguished him among his playfellows, and he was generally the leader in all their schemes. Their great delight was fishing for minnows; and as their constant trampling had made the edge of the pond a quagmire, Franklin's active mind suggested to him the idea of building a little wharf for them to stand upon. Unluckily a heap of stones was collected, at no great distance, for building a new house; and one evening Franklin proposed to his companions to make free with them after the workmen were gone home. The project was approved, and executed with great industry: but the next morning the stones

were missed, inquiry was made, and the consequence was—a complaint against the boys. Franklin pleaded, in excuse, the utility of the work; but his father wisely took the opportunity of inculcating the excellent maxim, that what is not honest cannot be truly useful.

When Franklin was twelve years old, he narrowly escaped changing his trade of tallow-chandler for that of a cutler. He was placed for some days on trial with his cousin; but too large a fee was demanded for his apprenticeship, and he was taken home again. Soon after it was finally decided that he should be made a printer; and after some fruitless opposition on his own part, he was bound to one of his elder brothers, who was just setting up business in Boston. It was agreed that he should serve as apprentice till twenty-one, and should be allowed journeyman's wages the last year. His father was induced to take this step by observing his fondness for reading. All the money that came into his hands was employed in the purchase of books; and among those which first fell in his way were Bunyan's works, 40 volumes of Burton's Historical Collections, several of polemical divinity, Plutarch's Lives, Defoe's Essay on Projects, and Mather's Essay to do good. The two last mentioned books may have had some influence in turning his thoughts to plans of public utility; but who does not regret the loss of so good an opportunity of fixing in his mind sound religious principles? A proper choice of books is surely not the least important of parental duties, and much more depends upon it than appears to be usually thought. Whoever has remarked the aberrations of Franklin's powerful mind, will be at no loss to know to what cause they must be attributed when he sees the young inquirer slaking his thirst for knowledge in the shallow streams of Defoe and Mather, or laying the foundations of his religious creed in a library of polemical divinity. By degrees he obtained access to better books, and frequently sat up the greater part of the night in reading such as he could borrow from his brother apprentices, or from a friendly merchant, who, having remarked his assiduity, offered him the use of such volumes as his library afforded. It is curious to observe how eagerly he was carried away in pursuit of every new idea which presented itself. Meeting with some poetry, he suddenly fell to writing verses, and composed and printed two sea ballads. He calls them wretched stuff; but the Boston judges were not fastidious; and they had so great a sale, that he was in a fair way of becoming a bad poet for life, had it not been for some seasonable criticisms of his father, who, like Mr. Osbaldiston, looked upon all poets as fools and beggars. Thus, too, the perusal of Cocker's arithmetic made him an adept in numbers, in which he had twice failed when at school; and a volume of navigation set him on inquir-

ing into the principles of geometry, a science in which he made no great advances. Happening to meet with some absurd volume which recommended a vegetable diet, he presently turned Brahmin, and proposed to his brother, that, if he would give him half the sum he paid for his board, he would board himself. The proposition was readily accepted, and Franklin saved half his money by living on boiled potatoes or rice, or a handful of raisins and a glass of water. This afforded him a small fund for the purchase of books; and what was still better, a clear head and time for reading them, as he remained alone in the printing-house while his brother and the other apprentices were gone to their meals. He was cured of this freak, by observing, that the large fish preyed upon the smaller ones, whence he inferred, that if they eat one another there could be no harm in his eating them. He returned occasionally to a vegetable diet, from choice, or for its cheapness, and once prevailed upon a friend to make trial of it. He persevered for three months, suffered grievously, and at last, after being half-starved, ordered a roast pig in despair, inviting Franklin to partake of it. The pig unluckily was brought to table too soon; and not being able to resist the temptation, he eat the whole of it before his guest arrived. At another time Franklin had contracted a fondness for argument and a positive tone in conversation from his father's books of controversial divinity, till, meeting with Xenophon's Memorabilia, and a dispute in the Socratic method in an English grammar, he suddenly dropped abrupt contradiction, and became, as he says, *a humble inquirer*. Unhappily his inquiries led him to Shaftesbury and Collins, and from an inquirer he became a doubter, in which character he practised his Socratic method of arguing with so much success, that he obtained not a few victories which neither himself nor his cause deserved. From doubts upon points of minor importance he fell to doubting revelation itself. Some books *against* deism made him a thorough deist, the arguments which were quoted to be refuted appearing to him much stronger than the refutation. It was not till some time after that the conduct towards himself of some of his friends, whose principles he had been instrumental in perverting, and the recollection of certain *errata* of his own, led him to suspect that his doctrine, though it might be true, was not very useful.

In the midst of these oscillations of his mind, an odd volume of the Spectator chanced to fall in his way. He read it over and over again, was delighted with the style, and immediately applied himself to imitate it. His method was one which has been often practised with success in the study of the dead languages. He made notes of the contents of a paper, laid them aside for a few days, and then, after endeavouring to recompose the essay from

the paper of hints, compared it with the original. Finding himself deficient in words, he translated some of the tales into verse, and after some time turned them back again into prose. At other times he would jumble his hints together, and try to reduce them again into their natural order, as a means of acquiring method in the arrangement of his thoughts. "Thus," says he, "by comparing my work with the original, I discovered many faults, and corrected them; but I sometimes had the pleasure to fancy, that, in certain particulars of small consequence, I had been fortunate enough to improve the method or the language; and this encouraged me to think that I might in time come to be a tolerable English writer, of which I was extremely ambitious." Here again his father's good sense was of advantage to him. Some judicious remarks on one of his son's compositions, which fell into his hands, contributed to make him attentive to the two great essentials of a good style, elegant expression and perspicuity. The last accomplishment was attained by Franklin in an eminent degree, and he himself chiefly attributes his advancement in life to it. It may be doubted, perhaps, whether this is a talent on which less honest diplomatists would value themselves.

America had at this time, 1720, one newspaper, and it was doubted whether a second would meet with sufficient encouragement. However, Franklin's brother determined on setting up the *New England Courant*, and Franklin contributed to it his first printed attempts in prose, thrusting his performances, at night, under the door of the printing-house. They were warmly applauded, and thought to be the anonymous productions of some of the most ingenious and learned men in Boston, though Franklin afterwards began to suspect that the judgment of his admirers was not so very good as he once thought it. Some political papers, however, soon gave offence; and James Franklin, after a month's imprisonment, was forbidden to print his newspaper, which was in future continued in the name of Benjamin. To make this arrangement, it was necessary that the indenture of the latter should be discharged, and a new one executed, which was to be kept private. Franklin calls this a flimsy scheme; the sequel shows that it was worse than flimsy; it was fraudulent and dishonest; and he availed himself of it shortly afterwards to assert his freedom, in consequence of some dispute with his brother. The latter did not venture to produce the new indenture; but he was so successful in prejudicing all the trade against him, that no one in Boston would give him employment; and thus, at the age of seventeen, Franklin had contrived, by his imprudence, to put himself in a fair way of ruining his future prospects for ever. The government had their eyes upon him as an obnoxious character, and likely to prove dangerous to the state. His father and

brother were in open opposition to him; honest men considered him as unprincipled, and the good as an infidel and atheist. He had no resource but in flight; and accordingly, by the aid of a convenient friend, he secretly left his father's house, and on the third day found himself landed at New York, 300 miles from home, without recommendation or knowledge of any person in the place, and with no more money in his pocket than what the sale of his few books produced.—So much for the first fruits of self-education.

An old Pennsylvanian printer, who was settled at New York, persuaded Franklin to proceed, a hundred miles further, to Philadelphia, where his son was in want of a workman, and might possibly employ him. He performed this journey partly on foot and partly by water, and it was very near being his last. The boat leaked in which he embarked; and a storm coming on, the spray beat over it, and completely wetted all on board. In the evening, Franklin found himself in a high fever; but having somewhere seen plentiful draughts of cold water recommended, he followed the prescription, and rid himself of the disorder in the course of the night. If his constitution had been less strong, he would probably never have seen Philadelphia after trying such a remedy. He arrived safe, however, with a single dollar in his pocket, having been suspected, owing to his miserable appearance, of being some runaway indentured servant, which he relates without seeming to remember that he was in fact that very character. Early on a Sunday morning, in October, 1723, he was seen sauntering through the streets of Philadelphia, forming a singular contrast to the clean, well-dressed groups of Quakers who were flocking from all quarters to their meeting-house. He was in a working dress, with his pockets stuffed out with shirts and stockings, with a large penny roll under each arm, and eating another, having just quenched his thirst with the water of the Delaware. Such was Franklin's first entrance into the town where he afterwards made such a conspicuous figure. Fatigued with rowing, walking, and want of sleep, he at last strolled into the meeting-house, and sat down among the Quakers, where, after looking round for some time, and hearing nothing said, he slept soundly till the assembly broke up, when somebody had the good nature to rouse him. He soon found a lodging, and the next day got work with one Keimer, a printer, who had lately set up; and having little business, employed himself in making bad verses, which he could not be said to write, as he composed them in the types without ever committing them to paper. It was now Franklin's object to forget Boston as much as he could, and to conceal the place of his retreat from his friends, who were in great grief at his abrupt departure. However, to their no small

surprise, after he had been absent about seven months, he appeared again before them, as suddenly as he left them, with a genteel new suit from head to foot, a watch, and about 5*l.* sterling in his pocket, which, being in silver, was an extraordinary sight in Boston, where the currency was in paper. Franklin brought with him a letter from Sir William Keith, governor of Philadelphia, to his father, recommending him to set up his son as printer in that province, and promising his patronage and all the government business. The offer was declined civilly, but steadily; and as there was no prospect of an accommodation between the two brothers, old Franklin consented to his son's return to a place where he had equipped himself so handsomely in so short a time. He accordingly gave him his blessing, some good advice, and a few gifts as tokens of his love, and promised, that, if when he was twenty-one, he had saved near enough to set himself up, he would help him out with the remainder.

On arriving at Philadelphia, Governor Keith proposed, unsolicited, to set him up at his own expense, and agreed to send him over to England in the annual ship to purchase types and other necessary materials. "You shall repay me when you are able," said he; "I am resolved to have a good printer here, and I am sure you will succeed." It was some months before the packet was to sail, and he supported himself in the interval by working with his former master. When he left Boston he had been commissioned by one of his friends, to whom a debt of 35*l.* was owing in Pennsylvania, to receive the money on account, and transmit it at his convenience. Franklin imprudently suffered one Collins, who had talent, but was devoid of principle, and addicted to dram-drinking, to borrow, from time to time, a considerable part of this money, under pretence of re-payment as soon as he should be in business. This period never arrived, and in the mean time Franklin was fretting with fear lest he should be called upon to refund the deposit;—

> —— He hastened to restore the trust,
> But fear alone, not virtue, made him just.

Luckily for him his creditor was kind, and did not call for the money till some years afterwards; but, as Franklin remarks, the affair proved that his father was right in considering him too young to manage business. Happily his desire of acquiring information did not give him much leisure for idle company, and all his acquaintances were lovers of reading, though all, excepting one, lax in their religious principles. Two were, by Franklin's own avowal, "unsettled" by himself, "for which," says he, "they both made me suffer." The fact was, they pillaged him; and he seems to think this made matters even between them;

not adverting to the difference between him who steals "*trash*," and him who "*filches the immediate jewel of the soul.*"

After some delay, Franklin sailed for England; and, on presenting the letters, which he supposed to contain the promised recommendations, he discovered, to his extreme surprise, that the Governor had imposed upon him, and so far from having given him letters of credit, had no credit to give. By this paltry trick, Franklin found himself in the streets of London with fifteen pistoles in his pocket, to support himself and his friend Ralph, one of those whom Franklin had "unsettled," and who had deserted a wife and child in Philadelphia, in hopes of making his fortune in London. He succeeded better than he deserved, till Pope marred his prospects, and cured him of writing verses by putting him into the Dunciad. A circumstance, disgraceful to both parties, occasioned the cessation of all intercourse between the friends. During a temporary absence from London, owing to pecuniary difficulties, Ralph entrusted his mistress to the care of his countryman, which confidence Franklin so far abused, as to endeavour to seduce her. This, in Ralph's opinion, cancelled all obligations; "and," says Franklin, "the loss of his friendship relieved me from a heavy burthen." Surely there was some foundation for the opinion of those who considered him as a heartless character: but what shall we say of him who sits down, at the age of seventy, to communicate this shameful anecdote to his son, coolly calling it *another erratum*, in those very memoirs which were intended to teach posterity the means which he employed to raise himself to celebrity, and which, he thanks Providence, so well succeeded with him? (Life, p. 2.) We are sorry to see Dr. Franklin's memoirs afford a parallel to Rousseau's Confessions. Some, he thought, might deem these means fit to be imitated, should they find themselves in similar circumstances. Could he even have lived again, he did not wish to be better, but more fortunate. "If it were left to my choice," he writes, p. 2, "I should have no objection to go over the same life from its beginning to the end; requesting only the advantage authors have of correcting, in a second edition, the faults of the first. *So would I also wish to change some incidents of it, for others more favourable.*"

Franklin soon obtained employment in London, and recommended himself to his master by assiduity in his business, and to his companions in the printing-office by advancing them money when their finances failed before pay hours on Saturday night. He was enabled to do this by never keeping St. Monday, and by drinking water while they were drinking strong beer. His moderation recommended him so much to his Roman Catholic landlady, who also had a "saving mind," that she charged him only eighteen-pence a week for his lodging. He used to sup

with her; and their fare consisted of half an anchovy each, a very little slice of bread and butter, and half a pint of ale between them. Happening to be employed upon a reprint of Woollaston's Religion of Nature, this work suggested to him the idea of a small pamphlet, which he entitled, *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity, Pleasure and Pain.* This is called by Franklin another *erratum* in his life. His master expostulated with him on his principles, which he called abominable; and the nature of the work may be guessed by its procuring him an introduction to Mandeville, and to one Lyons, author of a book, entitled "The Infallibility of Human Judgment." Its object was to prove, from the attributes of God, that nothing could possibly be wrong in the world, and that vice and virtue were empty distinctions, no such things existing. He afterwards became convinced that truth, sincerity, and integrity in dealings between man and man, were of *some importance to the felicity of life*, and burned what copies remained of his pamphlet, of which fortunately only an hundred had been printed. His method of reasoning will be seen in the following extract; and it is remarkable that in this, as well as in many other passages, he appears to consider virtue in no other light than as a quality which had a tendency to increase the temporal happiness of man.

"Revelation had indeed no weight with me as such; but I entertained an opinion, that though certain actions might not be bad, *because* they were forbidden by it, or good *because* it commanded them; yet probably those actions might be forbidden, *because* they were bad for us, or commanded *because* they were beneficial to us, in their own natures, all the circumstances of things considered. And this persuasion, with the kind hand of Providence, or some guardian angel, or accidental favourable circumstances and situations, or all together, preserved me through this dangerous time of youth and the hazardous situations I was sometimes in among strangers, remote from the eye and advice of my father; free from any *wilful* gross immorality or injustice, that might have been expected from my want of religion. I say *wilful*, because the instances I have mentioned had something of *necessity* in them, from my youth, inexperience, and the knavery of others." (Franklin's Memoirs, p. 46.)

Some years afterwards he wrote a pamphlet on the other side of the question, which began with laying for its foundation this fact, *that almost all men in all ages and countries have at times made use of prayer.* "Thence I reasoned, that if all things are ordained, prayer must amongst the rest be ordained. But as prayer can procure no change in things that are ordained, praying must then be useless, and an absurdity. God would therefore not ordain praying, if every thing else was ordained. But praying exists, therefore all other things are not ordained," &c.

After passing about eighteen months in London, Franklin returned to Philadelphia, as clerk to a merchant, whose friendship he had acquired during the passage from America. He landed in October, 1726; and all went on prosperously for six months, when his master died, and left him once more to the world, with a small legacy as a token of regard. About the same time Franklin himself was nearly carried off by a pleurisy, gave himself up for lost, and was disappointed when he found himself recovering. He had just completed his twenty-first year; and in the three-fourths of his life which yet remained, he had a busy and important part to play. His old master, Keimer, now engaged him at high wages to take charge of his printing-house. He was here *factotum;* he was by turns compositor, pressman, engraver, and warehouseman; he made the ink, executed the first copper-plate press that had been seen in the country; and as their stock of types was very small, and there was then no letter-foundry in America, he contrived to cast a mould, and strike the matrices in lead, and thus supplied tolerably all deficiencies. He could not agree, however, with Keimer, better than with his brother, and in a short time entered into partnership with one Meredith, who, though no workman, had friends who engaged to furnish the stock, and set it against Franklin's skill in the business, on condition that the profits should be shared equally between the partners. Types were procured from London, a house was hired, and the new printers began business, notwithstanding the croakings and forebodings of an old gentleman, who maintained that Philadelphia was fast sinking into decay, and the people half bankrupts, in spite of the many new buildings, and the increase of rents. "This person," says Franklin, "continued to live in this decaying place, and to declaim in the same strain, refusing for many years to buy a house there, because all was going to destruction; and at last I had the pleasure of seeing him give five times as much for one as he might have bought it for when he first began croaking." The expenses of the establishment swallowed up all the ready cash the partners could command, when, by great good luck, one of their friends brought a countryman, as their first customer, whom he had found by chance in the street inquiring for a printer. This man's five shillings, being the first fruits of the business, and coming so seasonably, gave Franklin more pleasure than any money he afterwards earned. Among his chief supporters were the members of a debating society, called the Junto, of which he was the founder, all of whom exerted themselves in procuring him business. But what contributed more than any thing else to his success was his unremitting industry. The general opinion was that he must fail, as there were already two printers in the place. A Scotch-

man, however, Dr. Baird, of St. Andrew's, was a better judge of what industry would do, and he gave a contrary opinion. "For the industry of that Franklin," said he, "is superior to any thing I ever saw of the kind: I see him still at work when I go home from club, and he is at work again before his neighbours are out of bed." Baird was right. The business improved daily; a newspaper was added to it, from which personalities, which were then, and have been since the disgrace of American journals, were carefully excluded; some of the political articles excited attention, and the House of Assembly voted Franklin printer of the votes, laws, and other public business. Soon afterwards, in 1729, the partnership was dissolved, and Franklin remained sole proprietor, having procured friends who readily undertook to advance the money necessary for paying off the Company's debts, and continuing the business in his own name. His credit and character were good—he dressed plain, was never seen at places of diversion; and books, the only indulgence which ever drew him from his business, were a private amusement, and occasioned no scandal. He used to bring home his purchases of paper through the streets on a wheelbarrow, to show that he was not above his business. In short, all prospered so well, that in September, 1730, he ventured to marry a Miss Read, in whose family he had lodged on his first arrival in Philadelphia. They had conceived a mutual liking for each other, but it was not judged prudent for them to marry, and Franklin had forgotten her during his journey to England. She too had been persuaded to marry in his absence, but her husband was a worthless fellow, got in debt, and ran away; and the report of his having another wife in England, caused the marriage to be looked upon as invalid. Franklin scarcely mentions her afterwards; and we gather from some casual expressions, that he had a low opinion of the sex in general. However, they lived happily together, and he says of her that she proved "a good and faithful helpmate, assisted me much by attending to the shop; we throve together, and ever mutually endeavoured to make each other happy." She thought highly of her husband, and one morning substituted a China bowl and silver spoon for the twopenny earthen porringer and spoon of pewter, with which he had been used to eat his humble breakfast of bread and milk; for which piece of luxury she had no other excuse to offer, than that she thought her husband deserved such finery as well as any of her neighbours.

> "Live like yourself," was soon my lady's word;
> And lo! "a silver spoon" upon the board.—

About this time there was a scarcity of money in the province, and the wealthy inhabitants opposed the issue of a paper currency.

Franklin published an anonymous essay in favour of it, entitled, *The Nature and Necessity of a Paper Currency*. The point was carried in the Assembly, and he was rewarded by being employed as the printer, which proved a very profitable job. He also projected a subscription library, and by means of the members of the Junto carried it into execution. The subscribers were at first fifty in number, at forty shillings each to begin with, and ten shillings annually. The company was afterwards increased to an hundred, a charter was obtained, and the example was speedily followed in all the considerable towns of North America. In 1732, he published, under the name of Richard Saunders, the almanack containing those proverbial sayings, inculcating industry and frugality, so well known by the title of Poor Richard's Sayings. It was continued for twenty-five years, and had so great a sale that not less than 10,000 were vended annually, a prodigious number for those times. In the following year he began to learn languages, and acquired successively a knowledge of French, Italian, and Spanish. He then applied to Latin, for which he found his previous studies had so effectually smoothed the way, that he mastered it without much difficulty. From this circumstance he too hastily concludes, that there is an inconsistency in the common method of teaching languages.

"I would therefore offer it to the consideration of those who superintend the education of our youth, whether since many of those who begin with the Latin, quit the same after spending some years without having made any great proficiency, and what they have learned becomes almost useless, so that their time has been lost; it would not have been better to have begun with the French, proceeding to the Italian and Latin. For though after spending the same time they should quit the study of languages and never arrive at the Latin, they would however have acquired another tongue or two, that being in modern use might be serviceable to them in common life." (Memoirs, p. 81.)

Here is the old attack upon the study of the classics, and supported upon the old grounds. We answer, as it has been answered before, that the ascendency which classical learning has acquired, is not merely because it teaches to conjugate and decline; and that Homer and Virgil are not read only for the sake of the niceties of composition in a dead language, or for the insight which they afford into the system of heathen mythology: they are read because they lead to the general expansion of the intellectual faculties—to the correction of narrow views and contracted habits—to a larger acquaintance with man, and moral influences and habits—to the cultivation of the imagination and the development of the reasoning powers—to the extension of the field, and the augmentation of the materials of thinking. That time cannot have been "lost" which has been employed in the

study of works wherein the learner has had to collect and to compare, to combine and to distinguish for himself, even though the languages on which he has been occupied should not be "serviceable in common life." The value of masculine literature is this—that it leads to reflection and the active employment of the intellect; and were the attainment of that literature "easier," as Franklin thinks it would be, if it were customary to begin with the living languages, we should think its importance lessened. The labour with which the acquisition is made is not one of the smallest causes of that importance; and to shorten that labour would be at once to detract from the lasting impressions derived from the study, and to depreciate its chief value as an exercise of the mind.

In 1736, Franklin was chosen Clerk of the General Assembly, his first political promotion, and in the following year Deputy Postmaster General of the province, an office which was chiefly valuable to him, as it increased the correspondence and advertisements of his newspaper. He was thus gradually rising into importance, and what was still better, he began to find himself at leisure for the prosecution of the useful projects with which his head was teeming. To this leisure was owing the reformation of the city watch; the establishment of the first fire-office known in America; that of a philosophical society; of a public hospital; and the paving of the city. He was the inventor also of the Pennsylvanian fire stoves, for which he refused a patent, on the principle that in useful projects mankind in general were entitled to the benefit of discoveries. But why does not he who applies his ingenuity to the construction of a stove deserve a reward for his labours as much as he who writes a book to describe it. The principle of patents and of copyrights is the same, and is founded upon that universal law, that every one has originally a right to the produce of his own labour. It was at this time that Whitfield arrived in the country; and Franklin thinks his testimony in favour of his honesty entitled to weight, because he had no religious connexion with him. Whitfield used to pray for his conversion; but never, says Franklin, had the satisfaction of believing that his prayers were heard. He was, however, on good terms with him, and at one of his visits to Philadelphia offered him the use of his house. "If," replied the preacher, with more piety than judgment, considering his host's opinions; "If you make that kind offer for Christ's sake, you will not miss of a reward." Franklin seemed rather afraid of gaining this reward, and immediately begged that he might not be mistaken; for the offer was made "for his own, and not for Christ's sake." He says that Whitfield soon obtained numerous followers, notwithstanding he constantly told them that they were "naturally

half beasts and half devils." His voice, being loud and clear, was well suited to field preaching; and Franklin calculated by actual experiment that he might be distinctly heard by 30,000 people, allowing two square feet to each man. The clergy excluded him from their pulpits; but subscriptions were opened for a large building, which was vested in trustees for the use of any preacher of any religious persuasion; so that, were a Mohammedan missionary to visit Philadelphia, he would find that the liberality of the people had provided him with a pulpit. Franklin bears witness to the effect which was produced by Whitfield's preaching. "From being thoughtless or indifferent about religion, it seemed as if all the world were growing religious, so that one could not walk through the town in an evening without hearing psalms sung in different families of every street." The following anecdote is at once characteristic of the preacher and of the hearer.

"I happened soon after to attend one of his sermons, in the course of which I perceived he intended to finish with a collection, and I silently resolved he should get nothing from me: I had in my pocket a handful of copper money, three or four silver dollars, and five pistoles in gold: as he proceeded I began to soften, and concluded to give the copper. Another stroke of his oratory made me ashamed of that, and determined me to give the silver; and he finished so admirably that I emptied my pocket wholly into the collector's dish, gold and all! At this sermon there was also one of our club, who being of my sentiments respecting the building in Georgia, and suspecting a collection might be intended, had by precaution emptied his pockets before he came from home; towards the conclusion of the discourse, however, he felt a strong inclination to give, and applied to a neighbour who stood near him to lend him some money for the purpose. The request was fortunately made to perhaps the only man in the company who had the firmness not to be affected by the preacher. His answer was, "*At any other time, friend Hodgkinson, I would lend to thee freely; but not now, for thee seems to me to be out of thy right senses.*" (Memoirs, p. 85, 86.)

The safety of the province was now threatened by the union of Spain and France against Great Britain, and the Governor could not prevail on the House of Assembly, which was chiefly composed of Quakers, to pass a militia law for its defence. Franklin recommended a voluntary association in a pamphlet, called *Plain Truth*, and procured 10,000 subscribers, who were speedily armed, officered, and exercised, he himself declining the post of Colonel. He then proposed a lottery to defray the expense of erecting a battery and of purchasing cannon, which the Quakers themselves recommended and supported. In the course of these alarms this sect found themselves incommoded by their pacific principles. On one occasion the Governor having applied

to them for 3000*l.* to carry on the war, they refused the money to buy powder, but voted it for the purchase of bread, flour, wheat, or *other grain.* The Governor interpreted other grain to mean gunpowder, and bought it accordingly, without any objection being raised by his Quaker Parliament. On the return of peace, Franklin's thoughts were turned to another object, which, though not taken up as warmly as the last by the Governor and Council, gave rise to one of the most valuable institutions for which his country is indebted to him. This was the establishment of an academy, which was afterwards chartered and increased by grants till it rose into the present University of Philadelphia. It was resolved that predominancy should be given to no sect in the nomination of trustees, lest the whole of the funds should be in time appropriated to the use of any one religious persuasion. A Moravian was appointed among the rest, who gave offence to his colleagues, and at his death they resolved to have no more of that sect, whereby they were guilty of the very injustice which the original plan was intended to prevent, since it was as unfair that any one should be excluded from the enjoyment of the funds, as that any one should engross the whole of them. The vacancy, however, was to be filled up; and the difficulty then was how to avoid having two representatives of some other sect, when somebody observed that Franklin was merely an honest man, and of no sect at all; and he was accordingly chosen. He thought this a proof of liberal sentiment. To be of no sect is often equivalent to being indifferent to all; and his boast on this head is on a par with his favourite remark, that *mankind are all of a family.* The Americans, in their desire to be tolerant, have overshot the mark. They have mistaken indifference for tolerance. Those to whom all religions appear equally good in a political view, and it is on this very ground that Condorcet has praised Franklin, should look well to the consequences of the want of a dominant religion in the southern states of North America, as stated by Dr. Chalmers,* according to whom four or five millions of the population are growing up without any regular administration of worship.

Franklin now took a partner into his printing office, and retired from all the labours of business, with the intention of devoting himself to his favorite philosophical studies. His fellow citizens, however, did not leave him long in the possession of the leisure he coveted, and he was appointed successively Justice of Peace, Common Councilman, Alderman, Burgess in the Assembly, Commissioner to treat with the Indians, and in 1753, Joint Postmaster General. In the following year, war with France was

* Sermon on the death of the Princess Charlotte.

again apprehended, and he projected what is commonly called the Albany plan, for the defence of the colonies, and the extension of the British dominions in North America. He proposed a general government administered by a President General, to be appointed by the crown; and a grand council to be chosen by the representatives of the provinces in their several assemblies. The project was rejected by the English government as too favourable to the colonies, and by the Houses of Assembly as too favourable to the King's prerogative. It was resolved instead, that the governors of the provinces, with some members of their councils, should meet and draw on the British treasury for the sums necessary to raise troops, forts, &c.; and the expense was afterwards to be refunded by a tax on America. Franklin opposed the plan; and we are of opinion, that it laid the foundation of all the unhappy disputes which ensued. General Braddock's unfortunate expedition was the first fruits of it, to which Franklin involuntarily contributed, by using his interest to procure waggons and horses for the transport of the army, which, after all, could not be obtained without his bond for the indemnification of the owners. So little was the unhappy result of this fatal campaign anticipated, that subscriptions were actually raised in Philadelphia, to defray the expense of fire-works to be exhibited when the news of its success should arrive.

In 1757, Franklin was sent over to England as agent for Pennsylvania to present a petition against the representatives of William Penn, the proprietaries of the province. The colonial governments in America were of three kinds:—*Provincial* governments, when the constitution was founded on the King's commission, entrusted to the governors: *proprietary* governments, when a district was given by the crown to individuals vested with certain legislative powers; and, lastly, *charter* governments, the form of which was previously described, and in no respect left subject to the governor's will. The government of Pennsylvania belonged to the second class; and, for a long time, the proprietaries instructed their governor to refuse his assent to any bill for money which did not exempt their estates from the tax. This unjust proceeding was the occasion of perpetual disputes; and from the time that Franklin had a seat in the House of Assembly, he was the constant opposer of the proprietaries; and, of course, a fitter man could not have been found to manage the remonstrance against them. They appear indeed to have been like those who laid heavy burdens upon the people, which they would not touch themselves with one of their fingers; and the discussion of rights, which might otherwise have lain dormant, may be reasonably supposed to have prepared men's minds for the more important general struggle which speedily followed. Many causes contri-

buted to render difficult the task of colonial agent at the time of Franklin's arrival in London. The press in possession of the adversaries of his cause; the indifference of the country to such distant interests; the war in Germany; the reluctance of Government to interfere in local disputes; were all so many obstacles to be removed before he could bring his negotiations to a successful issue. The real question indeed lay within a small compass,—whether the private estate of the founder's family should be taxed; or whether the inhabitants of a whole province should be converted into so many feudal vassals. In truth, these chartered proprietaries appear to have been most anomalous characters: abroad, unsizeable subjects and insufficient lords;—at home, mere gentlemen, and so very private, that they were scarcely to be found among the herd of gentry,—not in court, not in office, not in parliament. They yielded, at length, on condition that Franklin should engage for his employers not to assess their estates beyond their due proportion: thus begging at last, like Shylock, for bare justice, instead of the usurious bond. Franklin's success in this business gave so much satisfaction in America, that he was immediately appointed agent for the colonies of Massachusets, Maryland, and Georgia. Nor did it render him at all obnoxious to the government, for his son was about the same time made by the Crown, Governor of New Jersey, which post he held faithfully through the whole of the American revolution. His principles remained strictly monarchical till he died in 1813; nor did his father aim at converting him, though the contest in which they espoused different sides suspended all communication between them. In a letter written at the end of the war, Franklin tells him how keenly he had felt his desertion, in his old age, by his only son; and plainly intimates his opinion, that there are natural duties which precede political ones, and cannot be extinguished by them. Well indeed may Bacon exclaim, "From a civil war God of his mercy defend us!"

Before Franklin returned to Philadelphia, which was in 1762, the universities of Oxford, Edinburgh, and St. Andrew, conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Laws. He had previously received that of M.A. from the college of Cambridge, in New England, and Yale College, in Connecticut. He was also unanimously elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, without payment of the usual fees, or composition for the annual subscription; and a few years afterwards, one of the eight foreign associates of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris. His absence from England was of short duration; for on the renewal of the disputes with the Penn family, he was again sent to resume his agency with a view to effect a change in the province, from a proprietary to a regal government. We pass slightly over the important

events that followed, as matters of history rather than of biography:—the well-known stamp act; the restraint on the legal tender of paper money in America; the colonial resolutions against English manufactures; the publication of Hutchinson's letters (in which affair Franklin's conduct was clearly justified by his character of agent for the province of Massachusets); the declaration of rights by Congress; the long struggle which ensued, ending in the independence of the United States. Franklin himself has left no connected memoirs of his public life, and the Editor of the present volume has added little to what is already matter of general notoriety. Finding the war inevitable, Franklin returned to America in 1775, where he was received with enthusiasm, and was successively elected delegate to Congress for the state of Pennsylvania, President of the Convention for establishing a Form of Government in that province; and in his 71st year, at the latter end of 1776, Joint Commissioner Plenipotentiary at the Court of France with Messrs. Deane and Lee, for the purpose of obtaining aids and procuring the recognition of American independence. It is unnecessary to state how well he succeeded in both these objects. The village of Passy, near Paris, was his residence during the eight years he passed in France, and when he left it in 1785, the King furnished him with his own litter and mules, the only conveyance which the state of his health could bear. On the 14th of September, in the same year, he cast anchor in view of "dear Philadelphia." His entry is said to have resembled a triumph.

"He was received amidst the acclamations of an immense number of the inhabitants, who flocked from all parts in order to see him, and conducted him in triumph to his own house. In the mean time, the cannon and the bells of the city announced the glad tidings to the neighbouring country; and he was waited upon by the congress, the university, and all the principal citizens, who were eager to testify their esteem and veneration for his character." (Memoirs, p. 378.)

Franklin was now in his 80th year, infirm in body, and afflicted with gout and stone, but still vigorous in thought and judgment. As a proof of this it may be mentioned, that he composed during his voyage home three philosophal treatises,—one on nautical matters, another on chimneys, and a third a description of his vase for consuming smoke. He still served his country three years longer as President of the state of Pennsylvania. He was also President of the Society for Political Inquiries formed in that city,—of the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons,—and of that for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery and for Improving the Condition of the Negroes, which was a favourite object with him throughout his life. He was attacked in April, 1790, with a fever and complaint in his breast, which on

the 17th of the same month closed a life of 84 years and 3 months.

"Never was any funeral so numerously and so respectably attended in any part of the states of America. The concourse of people assembled upon this occasion was immense. All the bells in the city were muffled, and the very newspapers were published with black borders. The body was interred amidst peals of artillery; and nothing was omitted that could display the veneration of the citizens for such an illustrious character.

"The congress ordered a general mourning for one month, throughout America; the national Assembly of France paid the same compliment for three days; and the commons of Paris, as an extraordinary tribute of honor to his memory, assisted in a body at the funeral oration, delivered by the Abbé Fauchet in the rotunda of the corn market, which was hung with black, illuminated with chandeliers, and decorated with devices analogous to the occasion.

"Dr. Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, and Mr. Rittenhouse, one of its members, were selected by the Philosophical Society to prepare an eulogium to the memory of its founder; and the subscribers to the city library, who had just erected a handsome building for containing their books, left a vacant niche for a statue of their benefactor." (Memoirs, p. 410—412.)

Such is a brief outline of Dr. Franklin's life. It must be now considered a little more closely in some of those points in which it is of most importance to "show it both to sons and fathers," when held up "as a pattern to all youth."

1st. Let us look at Dr. Franklin as a Christian. It was once observed to him by his son, on hearing a description of Franklin's uncle, that from the similarity of their characters one might have supposed a transmigration. Were we inclined to pursue the thought, we should endeavour to trace the course of the soul backward through some ascending generations, in order to ascertain among which of the ancients it originally had its birth. In truth the observation which has continually recurred to our mind during the perusal of the work before us, is, that had Franklin's lot been cast 2000 years earlier, he would have made a most excellent heathen. Like Cæsar "muffling up himself" in his fall, he desired to have his bed made before his decease, in order that he might die *decently*, according to his own expression. He made an agreement with one of his friends, as seriously as if reason and revelation had said nothing to the contrary, that whichever died first should make a visit to the survivor, and acquaint him "how he found things in that separate state." His friend happened to go first; but, adds Franklin very gravely, "he never fulfilled his promise." Again, he had much of that benevolence of mind and manner which arises from feeling and not from principle, and which was the chief among the Pagan

virtues. He used constantly to repeat, that the essence of all religion was the doing good to man, and letting good offices go round, as mankind were all of a family. It will not be imagined that we undervalue his benevolence, or his kindly sentiments of humanity, or his enlarged views of charitable feeling. But granting that he possessed these good qualities in the highest degree, it is clear enough that they did not flow from the right source. We fear he had the same motive for his conduct on most occasions, which he attributes to himself when he offered his house to Whitfield. What he did, he did not do from Christian principle. He did not take the will of God as the only standard of right and wrong, and therefore set a false value upon actions, without regarding the dispositions from which they proceeded.

With respect to the external forms of religion, he showed an indecent impatience of them from his earliest years. When under his father's care, he used to "avoid as much as possible all attendance at public worship;" which, notwithstanding, he still "considered a duty, though he could not afford time to practise it." His master, Keimer, talked of setting up a new sect, and endeavoured to convert him to it; but, upon inquiry, Franklin found several "conundrums" to which he objected. Of two which he mentions, one was "keeping the seventh day sabbath," which Keimer thought "essential," and which Franklin "disliked." Thus, though educated a Presbyterian, he early absented himself from the public assemblies of the sect, Sunday being his studying day. To Whitfield he wrote, that he did not think thanks and compliments, though repeated weekly, could discharge the obligations of men to each other or their Creator. He saw no fruit in "holiday keeping, sermon reading, or hearing; performing church ceremonies, or making long prayers, filled with flatteries and compliments, despised even by wise men, and much less capable of pleasing the Deity." To the same purpose is the following passage, which we quote at length, for the sake of showing how blindly "wise men" sometimes reason upon certain subjects.

"Your great Master thought much less of these outward appearance and professions than many of his modern disciples. He preferred the *doers* of the word to the mere *hearers;* the son that seemingly refused to obey his father, and yet performed his commands, to him that professed his readiness but neglected the work; the heretical but charitable Samaritan, to the uncharitable though orthodox priest, and sanctified Levite; and those who gave food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, raiment to the naked, entertainment to the stranger, and relief to the sick, though they never heard of his name, he declares shall in the last day be accepted; when those who cry Lord! Lord! who

value themselves upon their faith, though great enough to perform miracles, but have neglected good works, shall be rejected. He professed that he came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance; which implied his modest opinion, that there were some in his time who thought themselves so good that they need not hear even him for improvement; but now-a-days we have scarce a little parson that does not think it the duty of every man within his reach to sit under his petty ministrations; and that whoever omits them, offends God." (Private Correspondence, p. 3, 4.)

Dr. Franklin was not aware that good men, though they look upon public prayer as a positive duty, yet are so far from thinkit the only duty they have to perform, that they consider it an exceedingly small part of their Christian obligations. The son who refused to do the will of his father was not commended above his pharisaic brother on account of that refusal, but because he afterwards did his duty. It was not the heresy, as Franklin seems to insinuate, but the charity of the Samaritan, which preferred him before the *orthodox* priest, and *sanctified* Levite. The parable in question is an illustration of the law of loving our neighbour as ourselves, and the purpose for which it was delivered is directly contrary to Franklin's argument. He wishes to establish the *right* of the doers of the law to salvation; whereas the parable was intended to show, by an exposition of the extent and spirituality of the law, that if man failed of *perfect* obedience, he could not obtain life in that way. See Luke x. 25, &c. In his next illustration, he appears to have confounded * three passages of Scripture together, Matth. xxv. 31—46, Matth. vii. 21—23, and Matth. xvii. 20; but in none of them does the expression occur, "though they never heard of his name," and, indeed, it is contrary to the fundamental principle of the Christian dispensation itself. The object of the sublime parabolical representation to which he alludes, is to set forth the preference shown to vigorous faith *with* its practical effects, and deep humility, over the pride of hypocrisy and false professions. It is useless to remark upon the strange interpretation put upon our Saviour's declaration, that he came "not to call the righteous, but sinners to

* Franklin does not appear to have been familiar with Scripture. He quotes another passage thus: *Seek peace and ensure it* (Correspondence, ii. 443). He apparently intends (Life, p. 66) to quote the words of Philip. iv. 8, but he gives only their substance, and even that incorrectly. He says (Correspondence, i. 174), that there are several things in the Old Testament impossible to be given by *Divine* inspiration, and specifies what he denominates "the abominably wicked and detestable action of Jael, the wife of Heber, the Kenite" (Judges, iv). See Leclerk, Patrick, and Saurin sur la defaite de Jabin, for the moral justification of the act on a consideration of all the circumstances of the case, and on a supposition of the Divine impulse; and Puffendorff de jure nat. et. gent. iv. 2, for a defence of it on civil grounds. We are not aware that any of our commentators except Pool (see Annotations) give up the Divine inspiration of the passage, and this for obvious reasons is the last expedient to which we would have recourse.

repentance:" as if our Lord could have intended to imply that there were any so righteous of themselves, that they could not want his salvation, instead of—that there were many so proud that they could not accept it. But Dr. Franklin omits no opportunity of sneering at faith; and the greatest admission in its favour which these volumes afford, is that it "has certainly its use in the world. He did not desire to see it lessened, nor would he endeavour to lessen it in any man." (Correspondence, i. 3.) Though he seldom attended public worship, he yet had some misgivings respecting its utility and propriety, and appears to have been present occasionally, till an unlucky sermon from a Presbyterian preacher disgusted him so much that he thought it no longer necessary to do violence to his inclinations. This man's discourses were chiefly doctrinal; but at last he took for his text, Philip. iv. 8, and divided his sermon into five heads: 1st, keeping holy the sabbath-day; 2d, being diligent in reading the holy Scriptures; 3d, attending duly the public worship; 4th, partaking of the sacrament; and, 5th, paying a due respect to God's ministers. These, it appears, were not topics to Franklin's mind. They might be good things, but he says they were not the sort of good things he expected to hear; and most certainly they were not what he practised. Had the preacher directed his discourse to Franklin alone, he could not have selected his subject more appropriately. From this time he returned no more to the public assemblies, and betook himself to a short form of prayer which he composed himself. He appears to have had a singular idea, that the promotion of secular objects was the most useful employment of the pulpit. One of his complaints against the abovementioned preacher was, that he aimed at making his hearers *Presbyterians*, rather than *good citizens*. And he congratulates himself on having proposed a fast when Pennsylvania was in danger of invasion, because it gave the clergy of different sects an opportunity of influencing their congregations to join in the association.

Franklin once projected the establishment of a society, the members of which were to subscribe to the following creed:

"That there is one God who made all things.

"That he governs the world by his providence.

"That he ought to be worshipped by adoration, prayer, and thanksgiving.

"But that the most acceptable service to God, is doing good to men.

"That the soul is immortal.

"And that God will certainly reward virtue and punish vice, either here or hereafter."—(Life, p. 76.)

These were what he called the essentials of religion; and when questioned on the subject, he used to refer to them as containing

the substance of all that it was necessary for man to believe or practise. Sects were respected by him, in proportion as he saw these points more or less united with other articles. With respect to our Saviour, he thought his system of morals the best the world could ever see; but conceived it had experienced various corrupting changes. He had doubts respecting his divinity, but saw "no harm in believing it," especially as he could not observe that the Supreme took it amiss by distinguishing the believers in his government of the world, with any peculiar mark of his displeasure. As models of humility, he proposed to himself "Jesus *and* Socrates." With such imperfect and unsatisfactory notions in head and heart, he attempted to arrive at moral perfection. He saw that it was his interest to be virtuous; knew, or fancied he knew, what was right and wrong; and had no suspicion of having to surmount any natural difficulties in the attainment of his object. He accordingly made a list of thirteen virtues, and gave successively a week's attention to each, marking carefully every fault which he found he had committed on self-examination. He was surprised to find that there were many blots, and that perfection was not so easy an acquisition as he had imagined; but he had the satisfaction to see them decrease; and after continuing his plan with some intermissions for a considerable time, he attributed to it the constant felicity of his life. Thus it was that Franklin aimed at originality, even in religion. Neglecting the light of revelation, he wished to arrive at virtue by a way of his own. He would not be taught even by the Bible itself, unless that Bible spoke as he thought it ought to speak; much less would he listen to man, on whom he looked down as inferior in wisdom to himself, and to whose tenets he refused to subscribe unless they squared exactly with his own. He thought that a clear perception of duty was sufficient to keep him from error, and that the restraints and discipline of religion were intended for minds of an inferior cast, the weak and ignorant among men, or inexperienced and inconsiderate youth. The light of nature was every thing with him; and the impulses of the heart were considered as an unerring rule of conduct. Confident in his own strength, he overlooked the necessity of deriving aid from the fountain of all wisdom; and fully persuaded of the rectitude of his intentions, he never for a moment doubted but that he was fully equal to the attainment, as well as to the pursuit of good. One of his friends warned him against pride, which he called an impertinent caution; but what would have been his indignation had Whitfield hinted to him that, after all his painful self-examination, he must become "as a little child," before he could attain the object at which he aimed. After all, it seems clear to us that he mistook the end in view.

He sought virtue, not because virtue is pleasing to God, but because he saw that it would promote his earthly interest. His notions of right and wrong were formed upon the consequences which the prevalence of virtuous or of vicious principles would have upon society. Thus in the short prayer addressed to *Powerful Goodness* prefixed to his table of examination for daily use, his sole petition is for an increase of that wisdom which discovers his "truest interest." He endeavours to persuade a friend, who had written against the doctrine of a particular Providence, from publishing his opinion, by urging that if men are so wicked with religion, what would they be without it, and that it was for the interest and security of society that a belief in it should be maintained, though at the hazard of error. Thus Montesquieu has said, "*La religion, même fausse, est le meilleur garant que les hommes puissent avoir de la probité des hommes.*" (Esprit des Lois, chap. xxv. liv. 8). Indeed we know not that even infidels have ever denied that Christianity tended to improve the morals and secure the peace of society. Franklin, however, was any thing but an infidel. He avowed openly, and we honour him for it, that the longer he lived, the more convincing proofs he saw of this truth, *that God governs in the affairs of men.* Two years only before his death he thus admirably bore evidence to the superintendence of Providence in the assembly appointed to draw up a constitution for the United States:

"Mr. President,

"The small progress we have made, after four or five weeks' close attendance and continued reasoning with each other, our different sentiments on almost every question, several of the last producing as many *Noes* as *Ayes*, is methinks a melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding. We indeed seem to *feel* our own want of political wisdom, since we have been running all about in search of it. We have gone back to ancient history for models of government, and examined the different forms of those republics, which, having been originally formed with the seeds of their own dissolution, now no longer exist; and we have viewed modern states all round Europe, but find none of their constitutions suitable to our circumstances.

"In this situation of this assembly, groping, as it were, in the dark, to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it when presented to us, how has it happened, Sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Lights to illuminate our understandings?—In the beginning of the contest with Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayers in this room for the Divine protection! Our prayers, Sir, were heard;—and they were graciously answered. All of us, who were engaged in the struggle, must have observed frequent instances of a superintending Providence in our favour. To that kind Providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our future national felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend?—or do we imagine we no

longer need its assistance? I have lived, Sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, *That* GOD *governs in the affairs of men!* And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without his aid?—We have been assured, Sir, in the Sacred Writings, that "except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it." I firmly believe this; and I also believe, that without his concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel: we shall be divided by our little partial local interests, our projects will be confounded, and we ourselves shall become a reproach and a byeword down to future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

"I therefore beg leave to move,

"That henceforth prayers, imploring the assistance of Heaven, and its blessing on our deliberations, be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business; and that one or more of the clergy of this city be requested to officiate in that service.

"[Note by Dr. Franklin.] *The convention, except three or four persons, thought prayers unnecessary.*" (Life, p. 388.)

Condorcet has observed respecting Franklin, that he carried his pyrrhonism to the very foundations of morality; the natural goodness of his heart, and the directions of his conscience, were his sole guides, and they very rarely led him astray. This is worthy of the advocate of man's perfectibility. How far Franklin was preserved from error by his "natural goodness," the sketch we have given of his early life will best show; but this is not the only injudicious remark which the same dangerous eulogist makes upon his character. He draws a parallel between Franklin and Voltaire, and congratulates them on the victories over fanaticism which each gained in his respective hemisphere. We know but too well what fanaticism means in the language of French philosophers, and are persuaded that Franklin would have spurned the intended compliment. We know but too well what were the victories which Voltaire achieved, not indeed over fanaticism, but over religion and morality and principle; and we are glad that the life of the American philosopher affords no counterpart to such conquests. And what, after all, was this fanaticism, "which of course must have taken deep root in a country peopled by persecution?" Where was it that "philosophy avenged humanity of the tyranny which had a long while oppressed and dishonoured it?" Was it the "fanaticism" of the Quakers! of that sect whose very tenets forbade them to take up arms in their own defence, much less for the aggression of others? Was it in that country where such was the tolerance of the inhabitants, that a place of worship was erected by public subscription expressly for preachers of *any* religion; and where

those who were of another belief, or of no belief at all, were alike respected, and received with equal favour? Franklin had too great a tenderness for the freedom of opinion in others to attack the conscientious belief of any set of men, when it had no tendency to desolate mankind. He was not one of those who rob their fellow-creatures of their dearest hope, without substituting any equivalent which can make them so easy to themselves, or so useful to others; who impugn religion, because it would oblige them to lead better lives, and would impose an unpleasing restraint upon their passions; who disbelieve the Gospel, when they have not so strong evidence for any thing else that they do believe, and by rejecting it desperately, risk eternal misery. Franklin, with all his errors, had fellowship with Voltaire. If it must be admitted with regret that he was not a Christian, still he did not despise religion, he did not sap the foundations of morality, he did not destroy all distinction between right and wrong; he was not a scoffer, not a sensualist, not an infidel.

2d. Franklin's character as a statesman is next to be considered. He possessed, and he valued himself upon possessing, the talent of address, and it must be confessed that he had the merit of uniting the cunning of the serpent to the simplicity of the dove in no inconsiderable degree. He mentions that, when proposed a second time as clerk to the Pennsylvanian assembly, his nomination was opposed by a member of talent and influence, whose goodwill it was incumbent upon him to cultivate. Recollecting the adage that, he who has once done a man a kindness will be more willing to confer another, he sent to request the loan of a curious book which his opponent happened to possess. In a few days he returned it, with a note expressing his sense of the favour. The plan succeeded; and when they next met in the house a readiness to serve him was manifested, and a permanent friendship was established between the parties. He had frequently the unpopular office of procuring subscriptions imposed upon him; never putting his own name forward, he always talked of the project as originating with some public-spirited gentlemen. He then applied, first to those whom he knew would give something, then to those of whom he was doubtful, and lastly to those who he was sure would give nothing, for in some of them he might be mistaken. In the important negotiations which he afterwards carried on at the English and French court, no one knew better how to choose the *mollia tempora fandi*, or how to keep his judgment cool, and his mind collected, even in the most trying situations. During the whole of the virulent attack which Wedderburn made upon him before the Privy Council, Franklin stood in the corner of the room without betraying the least sign of emotion. In the debate on Lord

Chatham's motion in favour of America, Lord Sandwich, who opposed it, remarked, turning towards Franklin who was leaning on the bar, that he fancied he had in his eye the person who drew it up, one of the bitterest and most mischievous enemies the country ever had. This drew the eyes of the whole house upon him; but, says he, "I kept my countenance as immoveable as if my features had been made of wood."

One circumstance distinguished his political life from that of every other statesman. It may be said to have been spent in the pursuit of one single object. All his public measures had some reference to that one great question, the importance of which, "*like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.*" In the colonies, in England, in France, he appeared in no other character than that of the asserter of American independence. It is difficult perhaps to determine how early the first idea of this measure entered his mind; but we feel satisfied that the possibility of it was not suggested to him till after that examination before the Privy Council in 1774, to which allusion has already been made. Notwithstanding the coolness of his exterior demeanour, it is well known that the sarcastic and abusive language of the counsel for Governor Hutchinson made a great impression on him; and though he seldom spoke of it, yet those who were best acquainted with him knew how deeply it was rankling in his mind. It is stated that he purposely put on the suit of Manchester velvet in which he was that day dressed, when he signed the peace at Paris between France and America so many years afterwards. Up to that period he uniformly expresses himself in a respectful and even in an affectionate manner concerning England. He was fond of comparing the British empire to a China vase, which once broken, could never be put together again; and according to Dr. Priestley, he used to say that he saw no inconvenience in extending the constitution over great part of the globe. He laid much stress on the advantage of a strict union between the mother country and the colonies, and exhorted the latter to avoid all tumults and violent measures. It was long his endeavour to persuade the Americans that the people of England bore a good will to them. He called this country their aged parent; and even after the war broke out, he wrote to one of his friends that though unhappily an enemy, he still preserved affection for England, and wished to spare the "blood left in the veins of that once loved people." It was in contemplation too in 1768 to appoint him Under Secretary of State to Lord Hillsborough for the Colonial Department; and though the scheme was prevented by his being thought too much of an American, yet it is a proof that those in power had no idea of his entertaining at that time any plan for severing the transatlantic possessions

from the mother country. In fact while he was accused in England of undue attachment to America, he was accused in America of being too much an Englishman. But if his conduct previous to the affair before the Privy Council was free from suspicion, it cannot be denied that from that period a striking change is observable in his language. That once loved nation then became "the nation thirsty of blood," (Corr. i. 98) the "venal nation," (i. 317) the "worst and wickedest nation on earth." (ii. 6.) That aged parent was reproached with "unnumbered barbarities," with "malice," "baseness," and "depravity," (ii. 2) with having renounced all pretension to any other honour than that of being the first piratical state in the world," (i. 90) with "injustice" in exchange of prisoners, (i. 450) with exercising "with impunity that insolence which is so natural to the nation" (i. 466). He now needed not "private injuries to whet his resentment against a people," &c. (Life, 311) he flattered himself, that old as he was he should live to see the time when Britain should "make no more a formidable figure among the powers of Europe," (Life, 312) he looked upon the war which had commenced as the "wickedest" of all which had taken place in his time. These are the expressions of a bitter foe, and we think they bear the stamp of some feeling deeper than mere political hatred. He verified the Italian adage, that there is no little enemy. His very nature indeed seems for a time to have been changed. His exasperation led him to sanction measures at which in any other case his real benevolence of heart would have revolted. There was a design to strike a copper coinage for the United States, on one side of which were to be engraved designs expressing the cruelty and inhumanity of the English, in order "to make an impression on the minds of posterity as strong and durable as that on the copper," and to this Franklin did not object! There was a design to compile a school book with prints descriptive of British barbarity, "in order to impress the minds of children and posterity with a deep sense of their bloody and insatiable malice," and to this also the philanthropic Franklin did not object! A frantic mob burned Lord Mansfield's house with all his furniture, pictures, books, and papers; and of this Franklin approves as an act of retributive justice, because his Lordship was one of that ministry under whom some American houses were set on fire! Nay, in a fit of returning kindness for his once loved nation, he fears that we "have not virtue enough left to procure a revolution" (i. 69). His dear friends the French, it is true, had not yet tasted this blessing, and he knew not perhaps the full extent of his charitable wish. We are not surprised at his predilection for that nation. It is perfectly natural that he should feel a kind-

ness for the people who had been of such essential service to his own country; but we were scarcely prepared for the assertion that they have "no national vice ascribed to them." True it is that they have "some harmless frivolities," some "follies" and "trifles," but it seems there is "nothing wanting" which belongs to the character of an "agreeable and worthy man." He had surely forgotten that in another stage of the business, he had called the French "an intriguing nation," who would be glad to "meddle on occasion, and blow up the coals between Britain and her colonies" (i. 293).

Franklin was strangely mistaken in the hopes he entertained of a speedy termination to the disputes in the commencement of the quarrel. It is singular that with his peculiar talent for observation he should so long have flattered himself with the idea that a change of ministers would bring about a change of plan. It was in the outset eminently a war of the people. The Americans were looked upon as something below the natural standard of men, impotent in body and mind, indecisive in resolution, and poltroons in action. If news came that a Scotch serjeant hath met with forty American soldiers, and had disarmed and taken prisoners the whole party, scarcely a man in England would have thought the story incredible. Parliament was gravely informed that "the Yankies" never felt bold. On the other hand the Yankies in their turn had their motives, exclusive of their wish for independence, for continuing the struggle when they had once fairly engaged in it. The measures adopted in England against them had the effect ascribed by the poet to the torch of the fury; they set the countries in a flame wherever the news of them passed. On one occasion the populace even bound themselves by an oath to suspend all intercourse till their point was gained. Attention to these indications of public feeling on both sides, might, we think, have convinced Franklin earlier that it signified nothing to the cause whether Lord Dartmouth or Lord Hillsborough was in place. Above all, they might have taught him to look a little to other causes for the mischiefs which he deplored, and to abate a little of that savage grossness of language in which he always speaks of the King, to whose *firmness* as, he sneeringly says, his own friends called it, he always chose to attribute the war. "Depend upon it" he wrote to Mr. Livingston, the American Secretary for Foreign Affairs, "depend upon it the King hates us cordially, and will be content with nothing short of our extirpation." (Corr. ii. 87.) But this is nothing. He wrote from Passy in 1777, alluding to the dispute respecting the superiority of knobs or points in lightning conductors, "The King's changing his

pointed conductors for blunt ones is a matter of small importance to me. If *I had a wish about it, it would be that he had rejected them altogether as ineffectual.* For it is only since he thought himself and family safe from the thunder of heaven, that he dared to use his own thunder in destroying his innocent subjects." (Life, 324.) We will not stain our pages with more extracts; but we seriously expostulate with the Editor on the impropriety of sending out into the world passages of such virulent abuse as are to be found in p. 342 of the Life, and p. 116 of the Correspondence, vol. i. Is it to be borne that a king is to be styled *Nerone Neronior*, and accused of hiring German murderers to gratify his bad temper and his passion for blood, only for having, with the advice and concurrence of successive ministries, honestly endeavoured to preserve inviolate for his successors those possessions which he inherited with his crown? Much may be forgiven to the irritation of the moment; but the revival of such slanderous misrepresentations now seems calculated only to minister gratification to the most hateful passions of our nature. They break out again after a long pause, "like words congealed in northern frost," to lay open afresh the sore which time was just beginning to heal. It should be known that while Franklin was thus suffering political feeling to extinguish his principles of universal benevolence, that "wicked tyrant" on whom he heaped his abuse was directing his Board of Admiralty to send him a copy of Cook's Voyages, with a letter signifying that the present was with the King's express approbation. And not long after, when the Royal Society distributed among their friends some gold medals struck in memory of his circumnavigation, Sir Joseph Banks was directed to transmit one to Franklin, with the same intimation that it was sent at his Majesty's command. Against these overtures we have nothing to set on the other side but the professions of Franklin. He whines to his philosophical friends about *sweet reconciliation.* He assures Bishop Shipley, that he does not think there has ever been any such thing as a good war or a bad peace; and this too in the very heat of a war of which he was the chief promoter. He really cants about *mad wars* and *blessed peace*, as if he had been himself all his life an innocent spectator of the affairs of the world in his academy of Philadelphia. Like the certain Lord in Shakspeare, he thought

> ——That it was great pity, so it was
> That villanous saltpetre should be digged
> Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
> Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed
> So cowardly.——

III. Franklin's name stands deservedly high as a man of science. His "grand results," as Davy calls them, respecting the cause of lightning were important not merely for the explanation which they afforded of one of the most awful of the atmospheric phenomena, but as they called the attention of Europe to the new field for discovery which electro-chemistry has opened. He once lamented that he was born so soon, since he could not have the satisfaction of knowing what would be discovered a century later. What would he have said, had he foreseen the advances which science is daily making by means of the voltaic apparatus, the theory of which is founded on his own idea of an electrical fluid for which certain bodies have stronger attractions than others. His pointed conductors have been successful to a great extent in averting the destructive effects of lightning. Their effect is most conspicuous in those countries where the rarity of the air is susceptible of receiving frequent polarities; nor is the safety derived from them altogether unknown even in our dense atmosphere, where the invention is comparatively of less utility. The language to which this discovery has given occasion among the French philosophers is little less than impious. D'Alembert sounds the praises of him "dont l'heureux et male génie arracha le tonnerre aux Dieux." Man, says Condorcet, was exalted to wield a power sufficient to disarm the wrath of heaven. He admits indeed that the contest between human efforts and "the boundless force of *nature*" must always be unequal; but he encourages himself by the hope that the baneful activity of all the scourges of mankind will melt away, as that of thunder has done, before the power of genius. On the other hand some pious but weak minds have objected to the use of conductors on the ground of presumption and distrust of Providence. As well might they object to the use of physic when sick, or to the means taken to prevent any other natural evil. But we respect pious scruples wherever we find them; for however inconsistent and whimsical they may be, they are still conscientious and well-meaning, and on these considerations are entitled to our forbearance. But we have no such tenderness for the arrogance of infidelity, which eats out the very heart and core of virtue, and like a deadly mildew blights and shrivels the fairest hopes of human promise. When Franklin first made known his hypothesis of the identity of lightning and electricity, it was much opposed in Europe, and particularly in France, where, his name being entirely unknown, the Abbé Nollet, the author of the then received theory of electricity, imagined that no such person existed, and that Franklin was a man of straw set up by his enemies at Paris to oppose him. The success of the well known kite experiment silenced all objectors, and the terms Franklinism,

Franklinist, and the Franklinian system, were soon received into the nomenclature of natural philosophy.

His endeavours to account for the phenomenon of the Aurora Borealis were nearly connected with his experiments in electricity; and though other solutions were given, his idea seems not improbable that these coruscations may arise from a discharge of electricity, accumulated in the atmosphere near the poles, into its rarer parts. It has been justly remarked, that the present state of the polar ice, connected with the rarity of this phenomenon of late years, affords an additional argument in favour of the truth of this theory.* Indeed, if Franklin's avocations had permitted him to turn his attention to scientific subjects as much as his natural bent inclined him, we are persuaded that he would have looked into the works of nature with a master's eye. It was the study which he loved, and to which he always recurred, whenever his leisure permitted him. He never made a voyage without employing himself in daily experiments on the temperature of the sea-water; and when he received leave from the Congress to embark for America, he welcomed with enthusiasm his return to his "dear philosophical amusements." The more he saw of inanimate nature, the more, he said, he admired it; the more he knew of men, the more he was disgusted with them.—

IV. A few words must be devoted in conclusion to Franklin's character as a private man. The Editor has injudiciously thought proper to give the famous letter to Mr. Strahan, as a *fac simile* of Dr. Franklin's hand writing. It is as follows:

"Mr. Strahan, "Philadelphia, July 5, 1775.

"You are a member of parliament, and one of that majority which has doomed my country to destruction.—You have begun to burn our towns, and murder our people.—Look upon your hands!—They are stained with the blood of your relations!—You and I were long friends.—You are now my enemy,—and

"I am, yours,

"B. FRANKLIN."

Now this letter was addressed to the old friend and companion of the writer, and it exhibits such a violent sacrifice of private feeling to public resentment, that by its insertion in so conspicuous a manner, Franklin's character is placed in, at least, an unamiable light. The conclusion which the reader naturally draws from it is, that the affectionate intercourse of years was abruptly ter-

* The following passage from one of his letters written in 1772, is interesting at the present moment, as it proves that the progressive advance of the cold had been remarked nearly 50 years ago. "It should seem that the almost perpetual northern winter had gained ground to the southward; and, if so, perhaps more northern countries might anciently have had vines, than can bear them in these days." (Corr. i. 22.)

minated. Such at least was the impression upon ourselves; and it was with no less surprise than pleasure that we met with another letter, addressed to the same gentleman, nine years afterwards, in which he styles him his dear friend, and acknowledges the receipt of a "kind letter" from him. Perhaps, it was nothing more than an official declaration from the Pennsylvanian delegate in Congress, to the member for Malmsbury, in the British Parliament. Franklin was assuredly not a cold-hearted man, but his politics sometimes caused him to forget his benevolence. His letters are the best answer to those who thought him callous to the feelings of humanity. His affection for his son has been already noticed, and his grief at seeing him embrace a contrary line of politics. Congress had some thoughts, at one time, of removing his grandson, who was his private secretary at the court of France, but Franklin remonstrated warmly,—"It is enough," said he, "that I have lost my son; would they add my grandson?" "Four daughters!" he writes to his friend, Bishop Shipley, "how rich! I have but one, and she [her] necessity detained from me at a thousand leagues' distance." He was warm in his attachments, though we cannot always admire his choice of friends. Among those with whom he appears to have been most intimately connected in England were Dr. Fothergill, Dr. Price, Dr. Priestley, Dr. Kippis, Dr. Shipley, whom he calls the good bishop, and adds, "Strange that so simple a character should distinguish one of that sacred body." We were grieved to find him recommending the notorious Tom Paine to one of his Parisian acquaintance as an ingenious and honest man. To such a degree could he suffer his judgment to be influenced by party: for we are persuaded, that had not Paine been the author of a pamphlet, called *Common Sense*, which had a great effect on the minds of the Americans in the commencement of the revolution, his principles would never have escaped the penetration of so keen an observer. Franklin's circle of friends was not less extensive in America than in England; but he lived long enough to find himself a stranger among strangers; thus paying the tax to which old age is subject. When he looked upon the second and third generations which were springing up around him, he was sometimes tempted to fancy that he had intruded himself into the company of posterity.

Dr. Franklin was perhaps the most consistent republican that ever existed. He was as much a republican when ambassador at Paris as when printer at Philadelphia. In the review of his life, he dwelt with more pleasure upon the poverty and obscurity from which he raised himself, than on the brilliant scenes in which his latter years were engaged. He must have presented a singular contrast to the gaiety of the court of Versailles, in a plain simple

suit, wearing his own thin, grey, straight hair, peeping out under a fur cap, which came down his forehead almost to his spectacles. If we may conjecture from a commission for "black pins, lace, and feathers," which his daughter sent him from America, this simplicity of dress does not appear to have been hereditary in his family. She promised to take a great pride in wearing any thing he sent, and showing it as her father's taste, and Franklin very prudently avoided giving her an opportunity of doing that with either lace or feathers. Cambric ruffles, he said, if care were taken not to mend the holes, would become lace in time,—and as for feathers, they might be had from every cock's tail in the United States.

On the whole, then, we are of opinion, that had Franklin's lot not been cast in a new country, he would probably have been less successful; had it not been connected with the history of a rising people, he would probably have been less celebrated. If he had few equals among his countrymen, he had also few competitors: it is not so difficult to reach the summit of fame where few are in pursuit of the same object, as among a people where all the avenues to distinction are crowded with unnumbered rivals. The example which his life affords is that of a man raised by talents and industry from poverty to eminence. But religion, and and virtue—true virtue—owe him nothing.

Art. VI.—DISCOVERIES IN AFRICA.

1. *Narrative of an Expedition to explore the River Zaire, usually called the Congo, in South Africa, in* 1816, *under the Direction of Captain J. K. Tuckey, R. N. In which is added the Journal of Professor Smith; some general Observations on the Country and its Inhabitants: and an Appendix, containing the Natural History of that Part of the Kingdom of Congo through which the Zaire flows.* Published by Permission of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. 4to. pp. 498. Murray. London, 1818.
2. *Loss of the American Brig Commerce, wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in the Month of August,* 1815; *with an Account of Tombuctoo, and of the hitherto undiscovered great City of Wassanah.* By James Riley, late Master and Supercargo. 4to. pp. 622. Murray. London, 1817.
3. *The Narrative of Robert Adams, a Sailor, who was wrecked on the Western Coast of Africa, in the Year* 1810, *was detained Three Years in Slavery by the Arabs of the Great Desert, and*

resided several Months in the City of Tombuctoo. With a Map, Notes, and an Appendix. 4to. pp. 270. Murray. London, 1816.

4. *Narrative of a Journey in Egypt, and the Country beyond the Cataracts.* By Thomas Legh, Esq. M. P. 8vo. pp. 300. Murray London, 1817.
5. *Historical Account of Discoveries and Travels in Africa;* by the late John Leyden, M. D. *Enlarged and completed to the present Time, with Illustrations of its Geography and Natural History,* &c. by Hugh Murray, Esq. F. R. S. E. 2 vols. 8vo. Constable and Co. Edinburgh, 1817.

THERE is nothing more remarkable respecting Africa, than the failure of almost every attempt which has been made to explore its interior, and the great diversity of opinion that has subsisted, from the remotest times, relative to its geographical properties. Every other part of the Old World, and almost every region in the New, are sufficiently known to be laid down in maps, and to have their leading boundaries of land and water clearly ascertained and distinguished. Notwithstanding, however, all the inquiries of ancient philosophers, and all the efforts of modern travellers, Africa continues the reproach of geography; for the situation of the principal towns, and the courses of the principal rivers, in that vast continent, are not better known at the present day than they were in the age of Herodotus. Nay, in many particulars, the knowledge of the ancients was more accurate, and their descriptions more precise, than our own times have yet been able to produce; and the discoveries made by the most recent explorers, accordingly, have merely enabled us to retrace our steps, and to go back to the opinions of the oldest writers whose works have come down to us. In proof of this, it is impossible to state a more striking instance than the several notions which have been held respecting the course of the Joliba or Niger—a river which the ancients described as flowing from west to east, but which the geographers of modern Europe maintained flowed from east to west, and which Mungo Park saw with his own eyes rolling its waters as the former authors had told us. Facts now begin, however, to assume a more settled character, and to rest on a firmer basis; and geographers are at length convinced that there is no sure guide to knowledge but actual and well-defined discovery. They are no longer ashamed to have blanks in their maps, corresponding to the deficiency of their information. They no longer shrink from a *terra incognita*, as the Aristotelian philosophers did from a vacuum; but instead of lakes, mountains, and rivers, borrowed altogether from imagination, they now honestly abstain from filling up their parchments otherwise

than with capital letters expressive of their ignorance. De Lille, himself, in order to occupy all his latitude and longitude, stretched Abyssinia across the continent till it touched the kingdom of Congo; and in the best and most popular of the geographical works at present in the hands of the public, we may perceive a chain of mountains intersecting Africa a little north of the equator, and joining the ranges of the Kong to those of the Jibbel Kumri, or mountains of the moon. Now there is every reason to believe that no such chain of mountains exists; and, accordingly, in the maps attached to most of the volumes mentioned at the head of this article, the high land in question has given place to extensive plains and dreary swamps. Determined to admit no facts, as the basis of geographical science, but such as are clearly made out by actual survey, our stock of knowledge in relation to this part of the world has lately appeared to diminish rather than to increase; still, it is very obvious, this rejection and removal of erroneous matter is a principal and essential step towards the acquisition of correct views and sound information.

In bringing before our readers the outlines of what is thought and known about Africa, at present, among geographers, politicians, and moralists, we shall begin with Captain Tuckey's narrative, as containing the latest intelligence from the western shores of that unhappy continent. With this view, we may remind such as have not taken a particular interest in these matters, that the expedition, fitted out in 1816, and placed under the direction of this able and enterprising seaman, had for its object, generally speaking, the exploration of the river Zaire, and of the kingdom of Congo, through which that river flows. It seemed very little creditable to European curiosity that of that majestic stream which has uniformly been described as greatly superior to every other river in the Old World, nothing should be known with certainty above a hundred and thirty miles from its mouth; and that of the various tribes which inhabit its banks, no accounts should be accessible to the philosopher and the divine but such as come through the hands of the brutal slave-dealer, or of the bigotted capuchin monk. The general object, then, of the expedition to the Zaire was to collect knowledge under the several heads of geography, natural history, and statistics; and to these points the attention of the professional persons employed was directed, in a categorical manner, by a series of instructions issued to them from the Admiralty. There was, however, a secondary object in view, which, although not openly acknowledged nor formally introduced into the instructions just alluded to, engaged a greater share than any other of the public interest, and also we have no doubt weighed more

than any other with those who planned the undertaking—we mean the ascertainment of the long-disputed point relative to the termination of the Niger, and its identity with the Congo. In connexion, accordingly, with the expedition of Captain Tuckey, a party of discovery was sent out to Africa, much about the same time, commanded by Major Peddie; who, making his way into the country by the river Nunez, was directed to follow the track of Mungo Park in descending the Niger, and to proceed as far as circumstances would permit, with the view either of tracing it to its termination in the interior, or to its estuary on the shores of the Atlantic. Having mentioned the latter enterprise, we may add, in one word, that it also has failed of success. Major Peddie, who set out from Senegal, in October, 1816, died before he could reach the Niger; and Lieutenant Campbell, upon whom the command then devolved, after struggling some time with the baleful effects of the climate, and the unreasonable conduct of the natives, likewise fell a victim to sickness and fatigue. No farther intelligence, we believe, has yet reached this country; but there is every reason to conclude that the party has been broken up, and the project entirely relinquished.

In February, 1816, Captain Tuckey left the river on board a vessel built for the purpose, named the Congo, having with him a transport to carry out provisions for his company, and a large assortment of presents for the native chiefs. It will not be improper to mention, in passing, that, besides the officers now mentioned, the expedition was composed of the following gentlemen: Lieutenant Hawkey; Mr. Fitzmaurice, master; Mr. Hodder, master's-mate; Mr. Beecraft, master's-mate; Mr. Eyre, purser; Mr. M'Kerrow, assistant-surgeon; Dr. Smith, botanist; Mr. Cranch, collector of objects of natural history; Mr. Tudor, anatomist; Mr. Galway, a volunteer; and Mr. Lockhart, from his Majesty's gardens at Kew. Of these only Messrs. M'Kerrow, Fitzmaurice, Hodder, and Lockhart, survived the excessive fatigue to which the party were afterwards subjected on the high ground which skirts the river. Owing to baffling winds, and the necessity of repairing the ship at one of the Cape de Verde Islands, it was not till the end of June that the little squadron reached the Zaire. The sight of a European sail created no small joy in the minds of the petty rulers, on either bank of the river, who hoped that an opportunity had thereby occurred of getting rid of a number of their slaves; with which commodity they ingenuously acknowledged they had been completely over-run, ever since certain foolish restrictions had been imposed by the white sovereigns of the North. Captain Tuckey could perceive, however, that the said restrictions were not very religiously observed; and that although few ships have of late entered the Zaire, on

slave-dealing speculations, the trade was still carried on to a considerable extent in other quarters.

Upon the application of actual measurement to objects whose extent and magnitude had been merely computed by the eye, and exaggerated by the imagination, their dimensions were in general found to have been greatly over-rated. Thus the Zaire at first presented no appearance to justify the magnificent descriptions in which it is made known to Europeans; for the true mouth of the river, Captain Tuckey assures us, does not exceed three miles in breadth, whilst the mean velocity of the current not being more than 4½ miles an hour, the common calculations of the volume of water carried into the sea by it must be extremely incorrect. Purchas dwells on its magnitude, in language sufficiently hyperbolical, and would evidently wish us to believe that the Zaire equals the largest streams even of the American continent.

"It is of such force," says he, "that no ship can get in against the current but near to the shore; yea, it prevails against the ocean's saltness threescore, and, as some say, fourscore miles within the sea before his proud waves yield their full homage, and receive that salt temper in token of subjection. Such is the haughty spirit of that stream, over-running the low countries as it passeth, and swollen with conceit of daily conquests and daily supplies, which in armies of showers are by the clouds sent to his succour, runs now in a furious rage, thinking even to swallow the ocean which before he never saw, with his mouth wide-gaping, eight and twenty miles, as Lopez affirmeth, in the opening; but meeting with a more giant-like enemy which lies lurking under the cliffs to receive his assault, is presently swallowed in that wider womb, yet so, as always being conquered, he never gives over, but, in an eternal quarrel, with deep and indented frowns in his angry face, foaming with disdain and filling the air with noise, with fresh help supplies those forces which the salt sea hath consumed."

Still, although the real mouth of the river gapes not "eight and twenty miles," its depth at the point of junction with the sea was found to exceed the highest estimate that had previously been given of it. In Maxwell's chart, as the Editor of the Narrative observes, the soundings near to the mouth, and for a considerable distance upwards, are marked down at 100 fathoms; and the rate of the current at five, six, and even seven knots an hour. But Captain Tuckey informs us that, with 150 fathoms of line out, they could find no bottom; and Mr. Fitzmaurice, the master, was equally unsuccessful with a line of 160 fathoms. It is farther admitted by the surveyor that, even with the aid of Massey's machine, which prevents the line from floating with the stream, it was impossible to get the soundings in the mid-channel, though the river was at that time at its lowest state.

About 140 miles from the mouth of the river, or from Cape Padrone, the narrows are found to commence; which continue nearly forty miles, extending to a place called Inga, and confining the current to a width of from three to five hundred yards. The banks between which the water is thus hemmed in, are, for the whole of this distance, every where precipitous, and composed entirely of masses of slate; which, in several places, run in ledges across from one bank to the other, forming rapids or cataracts, to which the natives give the name of *Yellala.* The largest of these barriers was discovered to be an inclined bed of mica slate; of which the fall was estimated to be about thirty feet perpendicular, in a slope of three hundred yards.

" On visiting this Yellala, Captain Tuckey, Professor Smith, and Mr. Fitzmaurice, were not a little surprised to observe how small a quantity of water passed over this contracted part of the river, compared with the immense volume which rolled into the ocean, through the deep funnel-shaped mouth; the more so as they had previously ascertained in their progress upwards that not a single tributary stream of water, sufficient to turn a mill, fell into the river on either side, between the mouth and the cataract; and they concluded that the only satisfactory explanation of this remarkable difference in the quantity, was the supposition that a very considerable mass of water must find its way through subterraneous passages under the slate rocks; disappearing probably where the river first enters these schistose mountains, and forms the narrows, and rising again a little below their termination at Point Sondie, where the channel begins to widen, and from whence to Lemboo Point, a succession of tornados and whirlpools were observed to disturb the regular current of the river. These whirlpools are described both by Captain Tuckey and Mr. Fitzmaurice to be so violent and dangerous that no vessel could attempt to approach them. The instances of rivers losing themselves for a time under ground are so common, in all countries, that there seems to be no particular objection to the hypothesis of the Zaire losing a great portion of its waters in its passage through the narrows under its schistose bed. Be this as it may, the Zaire beyond the mountainous region was again found to expand to the width of two, three, and even more than four miles, and to flow with a current of two to three miles an hour; and near the place where Captain Tuckey was compelled to abandon the prosecution of his journey, which was about 280 miles from Cape Padrone, it is stated that the river put on a majestic appearance, that the scenery was beautiful, and not inferior to any on the banks of the Thames; and the natives of this part all agreed in stating that they knew of no impediment to the continued navigation of the river; that the only obstruction in the north-eastern branch was a single ledge of rocks forming a kind of rapid, over which, however, canoes were able to pass."

In tracing the course of the river, we have considerably anticipated the progress of the travellers; but, in truth, the account of

their intercourse and negotiations with the natives as they passed along is possessed of little interest, and will, besides, come better in illustration of the few remarks which we intend to make on the condition of society and the character of the inhabitants. In the mean time, let us inquire into the extent of the information which has been gained by means of the late expedition, and in what particulars, and to what degree, it has paved the way for the success of any subsequent attempt.

With respect, then, to geographical objects, we think the discoveries of Captain Tuckey have gone a great way to establish the identity of the Niger and Congo, or, according to their more appropriate appellations, of the Joliba and Zaire. But, to place in a proper light the value of the facts with which he has supplied the geographer, it will be necessary to take a brief review of the state of public opinion, relative to this point, at the period the expedition left England. We are indeed aware that the majority of our readers are quite familiar with the various hypotheses which have been entertained with regard to those great African rivers, and with the réasons which have been urged, and the facts which have been adduced, by the several writers who have respectively supported them; and it is only because we could not distinctly point out the additional facts presented in this publication, without defining the limits of what was formerly known, that we recur for a moment to topics already so frequently discussed.

Ever since Park ascertained that the river which we call the Niger flows to the eastward, it has been a question among the learned, where and in what manner it finishes its course. Some are of opinion that it continues to flow in an easterly direction until it falls into the Egyptian Nile; in other words, that the Niger is the Bahr el Abiad, or the principal branch of the Nile, commonly supposed to rise in the mountains of the moon. This is the view which was taken of the matter by the Arabian writers of the middle ages, and which has since been revived by Horneman and Jackson. It has, however, been opposed with great force and reasoning by Major Rennell, who objects to it on these two accounts: first, the difference of level between the two rivers; the Nile, according to Bruce's measurement by the barometer, passing over a country whose surface is considerably higher than the flat of North Africa, through which the Niger is stated to flow: secondly, because the Nile of Egypt, in this case, must necessarily be kept up at the highest pitch of its inundation, for a long time after that of the Niger, which is well known to be contrary to the fact. This opinion, therefore, had nearly lost all credit, and seems to have been mentioned of late years, almost solely because it originated with

Arabian authors, who were naturally supposed to possess the best means of information.

The next hypothesis is that of Major Rennell himself, who, proceeding on the facts ascertained by Park, arrived at the conclusion that the Niger disembogues into a large lake in the interior, whence its waters are evaporated by the heat of the tropical sun. This conjecture was extremely well received, as well owing to the high character of its author, as likewise from its coincidence with the fact, mentioned by a variety of travellers, that there is a great body of water, called, indiscriminately, a sea and a lake, about a thousand miles to the east of Tombuctoo. Mr. Murray, the author of the work last mentioned at the head of this article, adopts the Major's notions, with a modification which seems now to be pretty generally admitted, that another river, flowing from the east, and frequently confounded with the Niger, pours its waters into the same receptacle with that noted stream, and forms the lake of Wangara.

The third hypothesis has been already mentioned. It assumes the identity of the Niger and the Congo, and is built upon a series of facts and probabilities, first stated by Governor Maxwell to Mr. Park, when the latter was preparing to undertake his second journey, with the view of tracing the course of the mysterious river now under consideration. It is not necessary to repeat the various reasons which induced Park to become a convert to this hypothesis. Suffice it to say, that the impression made on his mind, previous to his leaving England, continued to gain strength, as he descended a second time the channel of the Niger; and, in the last letters received from him in this country, he spoke with increased confidence of returning to the coast by water, and thence to the West Indies. The believers in this doctrine were not, however, allowed to remain undisturbed in their faith. Various objections to it were started from time to time; and among others a very formidable one appeared, in the shape of a counter hypothesis, by M. Reichard, a German geographer; who maintained that the Niger, after being divided into a number of streams, of which the Rio del Rey and the Formosa are the most considerable, throws itself into the Atlantic, in the Gulf of Benin. It also belongs, we believe, to his system of geography to extend a chain of mountains across the centre of Africa, and thus to oppose an impenetrable barrier to the progress of any stream towards the equator. Nothing further needs to be said, however, in reply to the statements of Reichard, than that they are all founded on the most gratuitous assumptions. He has not proved any one of the facts upon which his geographical hypothesis rests. His lakes and his mountains are all imaginary; and his calculations seem to have no firmer basis than the most

arbitrary principles as to the effects of absorption and evaporization. Nay, his statements, in a material instance, are in opposition to well-authenticated facts; for the Haousa traders, who frequently come to Lagos and other parts on the coast of Guinea, with slaves, have given repeated and most positive assurances that, on their journey, the line of which would necessarily intersect that of the supposed mountain range, if any such range existed, the only obstruction they meet with arises from rivers, lakes, and swamps. They deny, in short, that the Kong mountains stretch further to the eastward than the point at which they were seen by Park; that is, the position which is commonly assigned to them in our best modern maps.

The learned Editor of the narrative has adverted to two other objections which have been urged against the identity of the Niger and Congo; namely, the great length of their course, which, if united, would exceed 4000 miles; whereas the course of the Amazons, the largest known river in the world, is only about 3500 miles; and, secondly, the absence of all traces of Mohammedanism and of the Arabic language on the coast where the Zaire empties itself into the sea.

As to the former, the only difficulty connected with it arises from the immense height above the level of the ocean, which must necessarily be ascribed to the source of a river which runs 4000 miles, coupled with the fact that Park—who, by the by, did not make any measurements—passed no mountains of extraordinary elevation in reaching the Niger. To get rid of this objection, a given height has been assumed for the source of the river, estimated at 3000 feet; which, it has been observed, would afford nine inches to the mile, of slope or declivity, throughout the whole course of 4000 miles, a rate of fall which exceeds considerably that of either the Amazons or the Ganges. Those rivers pass along a bed which is not inclined more than four inches in the mile; and yet their currents move at the rate of about three miles an hour in the dry season, and from five to six when swollen with the rains. If, then, we were to reduce the elevation of the ground where the Niger takes its rise, from 3000 feet to the very moderate height of 2000, we should still have declivity enough to carry its waters into the ocean, even over the very lengthened course which has been assigned to it. The copious flood, too, which at all seasons fills the channel of the Congo, will make up considerably for any want of slope in its bed; it being sufficiently proved, that the velocity of rivers depends more on the mass of water which they carry along, than upon the descent of the ground through which they pass.

With regard to the second objection, founded on the circumstance that no traces of Mahommedan doctrines or institutions

are to be met with on the lower banks of the Zaire, it will be a sufficient answer to observe that, as far as our knowledge extends at present, the Niger in northern Africa formed the boundary of Mussulman invasion. What the difficulties may have been, whether moral or physical, which impeded the progress of the Mahommedan arms and faith, it would now be useless to inquire; but that they were impeded, and in a great measure limited to the parallel of the Niger, while on its eastern course, seems too well established to admit of a doubt. Besides, the principle on which this objection rests must prove but a very fallacious guide in ascertaining historical facts or geographical positions. What, for example, would have been thought of the sagacity of that geographer, who, because he could find no vestiges of Roman institutions on the Persian Gulf, would insist that the Cæsars had never planted their standards on the Euphrates. There must be limits somewhere to the progress of manners and institutions, as well as of arms; and although navigable rivers are unquestionably the most likely means of propagation, still there is a degree of distance and of difficulty which will cool even religious zeal, and which, among barbarous and hostile tribes, will prove a barrier too arduous to be surmounted.

Taking it for granted, then, that no positive obstacles of a physical nature have been discovered, and that no considerations connected with the religion and habits of the natives, on the Niger and the Congo respectively, have yet been brought forward, so as to preclude farther inquiry as to the identity of the two rivers, it may now be asked what additional probability has been given to this hypothesis by the investigations of Captain Tuckey. We would answer, then, that with regard to the latter river, he has clearly ascertained three circumstances, which add greatly to its probability: namely, the north-eastern direction of the ascending line of water course; the time of the year when the level begins to rise; and, lastly, the manner of its rising. As far as Captain Tuckey proceeded, he found the Zaire flowing from some point of the north combined with the east; and the information which he received from the natives, uniformly agreed in describing the course as holding on in the same direction to the utmost limits of their knowledge. Some of them even mentioned that it issued out of a lake far in the interior; and as the geographical position of that lake coincides in a remarkable manner with that of Wangara, into which the Niger is generally understood to fall, the fact thus asserted to our traveller, and without any possible motive on the part of the Africans to deceive or mislead him, cannot fail to be regarded as strong presumptive evidence in support of the Congo hypothesis.

But the time at which the river began to flood affords a still

stronger argument in favour of the same view. The rains in tropical countries, it is well known, follow the course of the sun, and are generally at their height when that luminary reaches the extreme points of the ecliptic, or tropical boundaries: on which principle we shall, in all cases, readily ascertain whether a river derives its waters from the north or the south of the line, by noting the date when its periodical flood commences. Thus the Nile begins to rise in Egypt on the 17th of June, or near the summer solstice, thereby affording *data*, were they wanted, upon which to prove that its sources are situated between the line and the tropic of Cancer: and no one who knows any thing of such matters will hazard the opinion, that the principal fountains of that celebrated stream are situated on the south of the equator. To apply this principle to the subject in hand, we have to remark, that the Zaire begins to swell at such a period as proves completely, that by far the greater quantity of its water comes from the north of the line, and consequently that its principal branch must proceed from the north-east,—the very direction in which Captain Tuckey traced it, and in which he was told it continued for many hundred miles. The whole rise, as marked on the rocky banks, was ascertained to be only eleven feet; and Captain Tuckey was long enough in the country to see it reach the height of seven feet, without a single shower having fallen that deserved to be noticed, and, of course, whilst no rain was falling to the south of the line:—a fact that proves, with the force of demonstration, that the main stream of the Zaire is derived from the north. The little difference, as the Editor observes, between the rise of seven feet, which then took place in the dry season, while the sun was still to the northward of the line, and that of eleven feet in the wet season, during which the sun is twice vertical, affords a solid argument for its northern origin; and, when coupled with the particular moment at which it was first observed to rise, would seem to establish the fact, almost beyond a doubt, that one branch of the river, as was stated by the natives, must descend from some part of Africa to the northward of the equator. The "particular moment," here alluded to is the beginning of September, at which time Captain Tuckey had calculated, on the supposition of its northern origin in the lakes of Wangara, that is, in other words, its identity with the Niger, that the Zaire would begin to swell. It had not exhibited any appearances of rising in July and August, which it must have done upon every other supposition but that its source is at a great distance in the north; and the Captain, accordingly, contended that this circumstance, so far from militating against such an hypothesis, had the contrary tendency of giving additional weight to it, "*provided*," he adds, "*the river should begin to swell in the early part of Sep-*

tember, an event I am taught to expect, and for which I am anxiously looking out." The river *did begin to swell* at the precise period he had anticipated; which fact, coinciding with and corroborating the conclusion he had drawn, induced him to note down in his journal the important words, which he did not live to explain, "the hypothesis is confirmed." It is said he lamented, when on his death-bed, that he was not permitted to live to put in order the remarks he had collected in tracing upwards this extraordinary river. A private letter brought home by the survivors contains the most expanded statement which he has given on the subject. "Combining," he says, "my observations with the information I have been able to collect from the natives, vague and trifling as it is, I cannot help thinking that the Zaire will be found to issue from some large lake, or chain of lakes, considerably to the northward of the line."

The learned and industrious Editor, to whom the public are so much indebted for information relative to Africa, in other parts, and on other occasions, has supplied what may be conceived to be the chain of reasoning on which Tuckey's conclusion was supported. The two points upon which it rests are, the date of the flooding of the Wangara lakes, and the time necessary to convey the water thereby thrown into the Zaire to the shores of the Atlantic; for if the ebb and flood of these lakes depend on the state of the Niger, it will follow, on the supposition of the identity of that river and the Zaire, that the ebb and flood of the latter, to the southward of the line, must correspond with the ebb and flood of the lakes of Wangara. It is established, then, by the observations of the Arabian geographers, that the lakes now mentioned are in the months of May, June, and July, very much exhausted, and that they do not begin to overflow till the middle or latter end of August; which circumstance (of late flooding) is accounted for very satisfactorily by Mr. Barrow, by referring to the long easterly course of the Niger, collecting into its channel all the waters from the northward and southward as it proceeds along. The position of those lakes not being exactly ascertained, we are left a little to conjecture as to their precise locality; "but supposing them to be situated somewhere between the twelfth and fifteenth degrees of northern latitude, the position usually assigned to them in the charts, and that the southern outlet is under or near the twelfth parallel, the direct distance between that and the spot where Captain Tuckey first observed the Zaire to rise may be taken at about 1200 miles; which, by allowing for windings of the river, and some little difference of meridians, cannot be calculated at less than 1600 miles."

"Admitting, then, that the lakes of Wangara should overflow in the first week of August, and the current in the channel of outlet move at

the rate of two miles and an half an hour, which is the average rate at which the Zaire was found to flow above the narrows, the flooded stream would reach that spot in the first week of September, and swell that river exactly in the way, and at the time and place, as observed by Captain Tuckey. No other supposition, in fact, than that of its northern origin will explain the rise of the Zaire in the dry season: and if its identity with the Niger, or, which amounts to the same thing, its communication with the Wangara, should be disputed, Captain Tuckey's hypothesis of its issuing from some other great lake to the northward of the line will still retain its probability.—There is, however, another circumstance in favour of a river issuing from Wangara, or the lakes and swamps designated under that name, and of that river being the Zaire. There is not a lake, perhaps, of any magnitude in the known world, *without an outlet*, whose waters are not saline. The Caspian, the Aral, and the neighbouring lakes, the Asphaltites, or Dead Sea, and all those of Asia which have no outlet, are salt. If therefore the lakes of Wangara had no outlet, but all the waters received into them spread themselves over an extended surface during the rains, and were evaporated in the dry season, there would necessarily be deposited on the earth, so left dry, an incrustation of salt, and the remaining water would be strongly impregnated with salt; and both the one and the other would be increased by every succeeding inundation.—No mention, however, is made by any of the Arabian writers of that indispensable article, salt, being procured in the mud or soil abandoned by the waters of Wangara: on the contrary, it is well known that one great branch of the trade of Tombuctoo is that of obtaining salt from the northern desert, for the supply of the countries southward of the Niger. But if Wangara had no outlet, this could not be necessary, as both it and all the large inland lakes, so circumstanced, would afford more or less of salt; and if so, the trade of the caravans proceeding from Tegazza to Tombuctoo would not have existed, as it is well known it has done, and still does, especially from the latter place to Melli, and other countries south of the Niger, 'to a great water,' as Cadamosta says, 'which the traders could not tell whether it was salt or fresh; by reason of which,' he says, 'I could not discover whether it was a river or the sea; but,' he continues, 'I hold it to be a river, for if it was the sea, there would be no need of salt.'"

The third circumstance we mentioned as corroborative of the hypothesis that the Zaire and the Niger are one, or, in other words, that the former issues from the lakes into which the latter falls, is the *quiet and gradual manner* in which the first named river passes into its flooded state. Among the last notes which Captain Tuckey entered in his journal, we observe the following: "Extraordinary quiet of the river shows it, I think, to issue chiefly from some lake which had received almost the whole of its water from the north of the line." This rise appears not to have exceeded four or five inches in twenty-four hours; whereas, on the supposition that the river were principally fed by torrents

from the mountains near the line, the swelling would necessarily be sudden, and the velocity of the current considerably increased. Indeed, this fact, viewed in its several bearings, goes a great way to justify the conclusion which Captain Tuckey evidently meant to found upon it, and thus to establish a connexion between the Zaire and some extensive sheet of water in the interior, as well as between the latter and some river fed by the rains of the northern tropic. Whether any additional facts had been collected prior to the period at which he turned his back on the Zaire—the words in which he himself describes the relinquishment of the enterprize,—we have not now any means of ascertaining; but it is very clear, that he became more and more convinced of the connexion just stated; for in the last page of his journal he wrote down the memorandum already mentioned, "Hypothesis confirmed; the water—"

We have thus stated the amount of the information relative to these mysterious rivers, derived from the exertions of Captain Tuckey; and certainly, so far as it goes, it lends support to the notion of Park, that the waters of the Niger reach the Atlantic through the channel of the Congo. Before we proceed to any other part of the work, it will be proper to advert to the evidence on this subject, which has been recently laid before the public, in the volume of Riley, the American shipmaster. This person, it is now hardly requisite to say, was wrecked on the western coast of Africa, made a captive by the Arabs, sold by one to another, till at last he fell into the hands of Sidi Hamet, a merchant of some note, from whom he was ransomed by the English Consul at Mogadore. His own adventures and sufferings, though no doubt great, are of a very common-place nature; and the chief interest of his book, accordingly, arises from the narratives which it contains of several journeys performed by the said Sidi Hamet, and communicated verbally by himself in the house of Mr. Willshire, the consul just alluded to. What is of most consequence to us at present is, a trip which he was compelled to make from Tombuctoo to a great city in the south-east, called Wassanah, in search of a caravan belonging to the King of the former state, which had been detained three moons beyond the period of its arrival. "All being prepared," says Sidi Hamet, "we went from Tombuctoo about two hours' ride, towards the south, to the bank of the river which is called at that place Zolibib (the Joliba of Park), and was wider than from Mogadore to the island, or above five hundred yards. We then set off near the side of the river, and travelled on in a plain, even country for six days, every day within sight of the river, which was on our right hand, and running the same way we travelled; and our course was a little to the south of east." He then mentions that, upon coming to a small

town called Bambinah, "the river turned more to the south-eastward, because there was a very high mountain in sight to the eastward;" and that they accordingly left the river side, and pursued their journey more southwardly, through a hilly and woody country, for fifteen days, when they came to the same river again. After passing two large towns, they went onward in about a south-east direction, winding as the river ran for three days: after which they were obliged to climb over a very high ridge of mountains, which it was extremely difficult to get up and down, but he adds "we could not go any other way, for the river ran against the steep side of the mountain." Upon reaching the bank again they found the stream narrow, and full of rocks "that dashed the water dreadfully." After travelling twelve days toward the south-east, during which time they were never a whole day out of sight of the river, they came to a large ferry, where they saw boats formed of single trees, and used for carrying negroes across the current. A journey of fifteen days, most of the time in sight of the river, brought them to the city of Wassanah. Their reception by the King was friendly: a square enclosure was prepared for them near the walls of the town, where they remained two moons, exchanging their goods for slaves, &c. He informs us that the river passes Wassanah, in a direction nearly south, between high mountains on each side, though not very close; and that it is so wide there that they could hardly see a man across it on the other side. It is here called Zadi. The walls of the city are very large, and made of great stones, but without clay or mud amongst them. It took him a whole day to walk round them. The King, who is said to have 150 wives and 10,000 slaves, rides on an elephant, and is attended when he goes out by a guard of 200 negroes, one half of them armed with muskets, 50 with long spears, and 50 with great bows and arrows. The city has twice as many inhabitants as Tombuctoo.—The tide of Mussulman conquest, it is clear, had not rolled so far south as Wassanah; a fact which completely removes the objection, formerly mentioned, to the identity of the Niger and Congo, founded on the absence of Mohammedan institutions at the mouth of the latter. "The King and the people," says Sidi Hamet, "do not pray like the Musselmen; but they jump about, fall down, tear their faces, as if they were mad, when any of their friends die; and every time they see the new moon they make a great feast, and dance all night to music, made by singing and beating on skins; but," he adds, "they do not read and write, and are heathens."—We beg the attention of our readers to the following paragraph, which we quote at length, because, if it can be implicitly relied on, it seems calculated to set at rest all controversy on the Niger hypothesis:

"They (the inhabitants) have boats made of great trees, cut off, and hollowed out, that will hold ten, fifteen, or twenty negroes; and the brother of the King told one of my Moslemin companions, who could understand him (for I could not), that he was going to set out in a few days with sixty boats, and to carry 500 slaves down the river, first to the southward, and then to the westward, where they should come to the great water, and sell them to pale people, who came there in great boats, and brought muskets, and powder, and tobacco, and blue cloth, and knives, &c.—He said it was a great way, and would take him three moons to get there, and he should be gone twenty moons before he could get back by land, but should be very rich. We saw a great many of these people who had been down the river to see the great water, with slaves and teeth, and had come back again: they said the pale people lived in great boats, and had guns as big as their bodies, that made a noise like thunder, and would kill all the people in a hundred negro boats, if they went too near them."

We are sorry to observe, however, that this account is not altogether unobjectionable. For instance, we hear nothing of the lake or lakes of Wangara, in which the Niger is supposed to terminate; and, as it is not likely that Sidi Hamet could have passed such a body of water without seeing it; neither is it at all probable that the King of Wassanah's brother, in describing his progress to the coast, where he traded with the "pale men," would, when minutely detailing the several bearings of the course, omit to mention the existence of that inland sea. Again, "the pale men," as well as the natives, at the mouth of the Zaire, continue in total ignorance of such a city as Wassanah in the interior. Some spake of the lake whence that river takes its rise; but none, as far as we have heard, gave any hints of a powerful king riding on an elephant, and claiming the attendance of a hundred sable musketeers as a part of his body guard. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine any adequate motive for fabrication, either in the original or the copyist; and, as the narrative is openly ascribed to a person known in this country as an Arab merchant, and said to have been delivered in the hearing of Mr. Willshire, who is still alive to expose whatever fraud or misstatement may have been attempted, we are not inclined to be rash in throwing out insinuations, or directly to impeach the veracity of Riley. We repeat, then, that if the story of Sidi Hamet be not essentially inaccurate, the identity of the Niger and the Congo is fully established.

We proceed now to collect a few notions from the narrative and from the "General Observations" which follow it, respecting the country and manners of the people, so far as Captain Tuckey had an opportunity of putting down remarks on either. The mere soil and exterior of the landscape, then, had nothing particularly inviting, until the travellers had passed the narrows or

cataracts; but, above that point, the banks of the river presented scenery which is described not inferior to that on the banks of the Thames. In a mineralogical view, again, the kinds and distribution of the rocks exhibited a great degree of sameness; and, as the professional men were almost entirely confined to the line of the river, it was not in their power to ascertain more than the general characters of the several formations, and to note when they passed from the primitive masses of the lower Congo to the transition strata, as they should seem to be, which constitute the basis of the more elevated districts. As to those minerals which minister to ostentation, and employ industry in polished countries, we are supplied with no particular information; but there is reason to believe that this part of Africa contains no stores which would realize the golden dreams of the Spaniard, or gratify the cupidity of the Indian lapidary. The vegetable productions peculiar to tropical climates do not seem to be deficient either in variety or abundance; and domestic animals fit for food and labour are sufficiently various and prolific. The country, as the Editor remarks, is singularly exempted from teazing and noxious insects. The party suffered no annoyance from scorpions, scolopendras, musquitoes, which are almost universally to be met with in warm climates. From the abundance of bees, and the hills being well clothed with grass, Congo might be made "a land flowing with milk and honey."

With regard to the form of society, it might be described as not greatly removed from the patriarchal. The country is divided into a number of small states, or chenooships, held as a kind of fiefs under some person, but whether real or imaginary is much a matter of doubt, who is said to live at a great distance in the interior, nobody knows exactly where. All that Captain Tuckey could learn, is, that the paramount sovereign was called *Blindy N'Congo*, and resided at a banza named Congo, which was six days' journey from the Tall Trees, where there were soldiers and white women.—The authority and title of a chenoo are hereditary through the female line. The daughter of such a personage is therefore at liberty to choose her husband, whilst the man fixed on by her has not the power of refusing; but, as she thus acquires the right of disposing of him as a slave, and, if he does not answer her expectations, is not unlikely to to avail herself of her privilege, it not unfrequently happens that the gentleman contrives to rid himself of his *mistress* by the help of a poisonous draught, and thus secure at once his liberty, his rank, and his acquired riches. The privy council of the chenoo is composed of his own family; and, it is remarked, that their consultations are usually under the boughs of the *ficus religiosus*. His brothers and his sons are his generals; and the elders of the tribe exercise authority in his absence.

The rank of the Congo negro in the scale of improvement and intelligence is comparatively very low. The vast shoals of catholic missionaries who, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, poured into this part of Africa, appear not to have advanced the natives one single step in civilization; and the rude mixture of catholic with pagan superstitions, which were found among the Sagnio people on the left bank of the Zaire, was all that could be discovered of Christianity, after the labours of these pious men for three hundred years. Some of these people, we are told, came off to the British vessels; and they are represented as being the very worst, in every respect, of all the tribes that were met with on the banks of the river, being exceedingly filthy and overrun with vermin. One of them was a priest, who had been ordained by the capuchin monks of Loango, and carried with him his diploma or letters of ordination. He could just write his name, and that of St. Antonio, and read the Romish litany; but so little was he of a catholic, that his rosary, his relics, and his crosses, were mixed with his domestic *fetiches;* and so indifferent a Christian that this "bare-footed, black apostle," as Dr. Smith calls him, boasted of having no fewer than five wives.

Like all other negro nations, the people of Congo shew no respect, and little kindness, for the female sex. Every species of drudgery and laborious exercise is imposed upon the women, whilst the male savage lies stretched all his length under a tree, or amuses himself with some trifling pursuit. From the highest to the lowest, they were ever ready to offer their wives or daughters to the white men. It is worthy of remark, however, that in proportion as our countrymen removed from the coast, they found the people more modest; the men never being seen *allant en avant*, as Captain Tuckey expresses it, in the offer of their women.

It is a curious fact, considering the laxity of their notions, with regard to female virtue, that the only two crimes punishable with death are adultery and murder by poisoning. If the wife of a chenoo should go astray, he inflicts what punishment he may think fit on the lady, but the paramour must suffer death. Mr. Fitzmaurice states, that an instance of this kind occurred while he was stationed at Embomma. The man was first carried to the mate of a slave ship then trading in the river, and offered to him for sale; but on being rejected, those who had the charge of him bound his hands and feet, and, without farther ceremony, threw him into the river.

It was observed of these negroes, too, that they are excessively foul feeders. They broil poultry with the feathers on, and pieces of goat without being at the trouble of removing the skin or even the hair; and they devour their food when scarcely warmed,

"tearing the flesh with their teeth, in the most disgusting manner." Mr. Fitzmaurice informed the Editor, that one day, as their butcher had taken off the skin of a sheep, a Mandingo slave, purchased by Captain Tuckey, slily conveyed it away, threw it with the wool or hair adhering to it over a smokey fire, and, before he was discovered, had nearly eaten the whole hide, although still entirely raw. Once, too, on the occasion of a palaver, when the Captain had given the chenoo's family a small keg of brandy, a violent scramble took place among the privy council to come in for a portion of this precious liquor; "and towards the conclusion, one having been unable to catch his share, his neighbour, who had been more fortunate, and who had kept it as long as he could hold in his breath (which they always do), very generously spat a portion of his mouthful into the other's mouth."

The chapter on the *superstitions* of Congo might be drawn out to a great length. Here, as in other savage countries, the natives place their chief confidence in charms, called *fetiches*, from the Portugueze word *feitico*. Every individual has his fetiche, and some no fewer than a dozen, these toys being regarded as so many tutelary deities, and as a complete protection against every imaginary evil. In the choice, however, of the particular substance to be converted into a god, we cannot perceive the smallest approach to uniformity, to principle, or analogy; for, as our author observes, there is nothing so vile in nature as not to serve for a negro's fetiche. The horn, the hoof, the hair, the teeth, and the bones of all manner of quadrupeds; the feathers, beaks, claws, skulls, and bones of birds; the heads and skins of snakes, the shells and fins of fishes; pieces of old iron, copper, wood, seeds of plants, and sometimes a mixture of all or most of them strung together, make up the "holy thing," which the Congo savage venerates, and in which he puts his trust. If, however, notwithstanding the protection of these watchful guardians, the negro should at any time fall into misfortune, he never blames his god, nor suspects either that "he is asleep, or on a journey." He attributes the disaster entirely to his own misconduct, and to the anger which he has thereby excited in the divine fetiche. On this principle, accordingly, and with all the simplicity of unreflecting ignorance, he attempts to conceal his wickedness, and even to deceive his god. "Whenever he is about to commit a crime, or to do that which his conscience tells him he ought not to do, he lays aside his fetiche, covers up his deity, that he may not be privy to the deed." Some of the persons of the expedition shewed to one of the chief men a magnet, which the latter observed "was very bad fetiche for black man; it was too lively and had too much *savey*." The priests ascribe

to a fetiche, properly prepared, the power of discovering a thief; and our countrymen saw no small reason to suspect that these gentlemen, rather than suffer the efficacy of the fetiche to be questioned, were in the practice of selecting victims and killing them by poison; for the person who first died in the village, after an act of undiscovered theft, was in all cases reputed the criminal. The very circumstance of dying was considered as, at once, the proof and the punishment.

The following anecdote, however, seems to justify a degree of scepticism, as to the confidence of the chiefs in the power of their fetiches. The chenoo of a village had boasted to Mr. Fitzmaurice of a war-fetiche, "which if any one attempted to shoot at, the flint would fall out, and the person so attempting would fall down dead. On Mr. Fitzmaurice and Mr. Hodder expressing a wish to have a shot at this redoubtable deity, he observed, that he loved them too much to let them try; on telling him, however, that if on firing they missed it, or if they sustained any harm, they would give him a whole piece of baft, and a bottle of brandy, his fears for their safety immediately vanished before the prospect of gain, and he consented. Six yards was the distance measured off. The fetiche was the figure of a man, rudely carved in wood, and covered with rags, about two feet high and one foot broad, and the time appointed was the following morning. In the course of the evening, the interpreter, who had a great regard for the strangers, appeared extremely sad and pensive, and being asked the cause, replied, that he very much feared his good masters were going to die, and intreated in the most urgent manner that they would give the baft and brandy, and let the fetiche alone. Being absent for some time, he said on his return, that he had been at the village; that the king and his nobles were holding a palaver, whether they should venture the fetiche or not, and that they had asked him whether he thought white men would dare to fire at it, and in his answering in the affirmative, they exclaimed "*mendeele zaambic, m'poonga*," white men are gods. The chenoo made his appearance the following morning, but without the fetiche, and was very desirous to see the fowling-piece fired, in which he was gratified; and on perceiving the ball strike the mark fired at, he seemed very much astonished, and went away without saying a word. In the evening he returned with nearly the whole of the inhabitants; begged they would not think of firing at his fetiche, for if they should, and this was known to the neighbouring chenoos, they would all make war upon him immediately; an entreaty which was uttered with so much real anxiety in his countenance, as to leave no doubt of his being in earnest."

Their notions of a future state do not appear to be very well

defined. They seem, however, to hold the belief of a paradise, in which they shall all be happy, and also to have some notion of a good and evil principle. The former is named by them *Zamba M'Poonga*, the latter, *Caddee M'Peemba;* but their whole veneration is lavished upon the fetiches.

There is something very singular in their mode of interment. They do not commit a corpse to the ground immediately after death, but, on the contrary, keep it for several years in a separate hut, wrapping round it, from time to time, an additional cover, until at length, it becomes four or five times as large as life. They dig their graves to an immense depth, and afterwards decorate them with shrubs, elephants' teeth, and various orders of fetiches.

It occurs as a very important consideration, to inquire what probability there is of improving the condition of those poor blacks, of instructing them in the arts of civilized life, and of making them Christians, in the proper meaning of the word. The Portuguese missionaries, generally speaking, confined their labours to the mere act of baptism; and they are said to have been so zealous in this part of their calling, as literally to have died of pure fatigue, from the manual operations of the ceremony. Thousands, indeed, flocked to partake of their ministry; but, as the catholics use salt in this initiatory rite, the good monks were extremely shocked to find that the enjoyment of such a delicacy, as salt is known to be to a southern African, was in fact the principal motive to conversion, and that baptism itself was familiarly spoken of amongst them as the "*salt treat.*" It is very obvious, from every consideration connected with this subject, that religion ought not to be the first instrument employed for the civilization of a race of men, so utterly incapable of abstract thought, of forming suitable conceptions of the Deity, and of being influenced by distant views of blame or approbation. Christianity, at the first, required a "fulness of time," a previous preparation in the moral and political condition of mankind, to usher it in with advantage: so does it require, still, a certain degree of improvement and rationality in those to whom it is addressed, to render it profitable to the body and the soul, and to save it from the grossest corruption and abuse. In the present state of things, then, all over the kingdom of Congo, the exertions of a mere missionary would be useless; our holy religion would only be caricatured; whilst its sacred symbols and offices would certainly be degraded to a union with pagan fetiches, and the most ludicrous superstitions.

The first efficient step towards internal improvement in Africa, will be the complete and final discontinuance of the slave-trade, by every power in Europe and America. Slavery, indeed, to a

certain extent, seems to be the natural accompaniment of a rude state of society; and we accordingly find that it has subsisted, in one form or other, in every nation whose early annals have come down to us. But domestic slavery in Africa is well known to be of a very mild character, and to be stripped of nearly all the horrors which belong to servitude, when attended with kidnapping, tearing away from home and friends, a suffocating voyage, and eternal banishment in a foreign land. Nor can there be any doubt that many of their petty wars originated in the wish to procure slaves for sale; and moreover, that the slave merchants had agents in the interior to seize their miserable victims, whilst straying from their banzas, and to hurry them down to the coast. Amidst such uncertainty of liberty, property, and life, there cannot possibly be any approach to civilization.

It is acknowledged that the Zaire at this moment is not the most active scene of the slave-trade. The Gulf of Guinea to the northward, and Loango and Benguela to the southward of this river, are now the two principal vents of that detestable and nefarious traffic; and by the late treaty with Spain, the former will be henceforth shut against European ships. There can be no doubt, however, that of the few vessels plying on the shores of the lower Congo, the chief property, and the majority of the hands belong to England and America; and until the trade shall be abolished from pole to pole, there will never cease to be found a sufficient number of unprincipled adventurers, to carry it on to a certain extent, and to keep alive exportation among the chenoos, and other local sovereigns of Africa. Upon the appearance of the expedition, as has been already mentioned, the chiefs and their mercantile agents were all on the alert, and making preparations for a spirited traffic; and much disappointed were they, on learning that the object of the British government was of a very different nature. At Embomma, too, the chief seat of commerce, the Chenoo's mafook went on board; and was very inquisitive to know whether the ships came to make trade, or make war; and when he was distinctly told that the object was neither the one nor the other; "what then come for," he exclaimed, "only to take walk and make book?" Indeed, as the Editor very sensibly observes, as long as a single door remains open for disposing of human beings, little progress will be made towards the abolition of this disgraceful and inhuman traffic.

"It is of little use to dam up the mouths of the Senegal and the Gambia, and turn the current into the channels of the Lagos, Formosa, Calabar, and Camaroons; or to stop these vents while the Zaire, the Counza, and the Guberora, remain open. The prolonged march of the Kafilas overland may somewhat increase the prices to the pur-

chaser, and prolong the misery of the slave; but the trade itself will not be much diminished on that account; while there is but too much reason to fear that the passage across the Atlantic will be attended with circumstances of aggravated cruelty and inhumanity. Indeed, nothing short of a total and unqualified prohibition of the traffic by every power in Europe and America, can afford the least hope for a total abolition of the foreign trade; and even then there is but too much reason to believe that the Mahommedan powers of Egypt and northern Africa will extend their traffic to the central regions of Soudan, which, in fact, since the nominal abolition, has very considerably increased in those quarters."

But on the supposition that the trade in question were completely stopped, a serious difficulty would still be felt as to the most suitable and efficacious means of giving them instruction, and the arts of humanized society; for it is a remark, founded on a wide induction, that no nation has ever risen above the savage state by their own unassisted efforts. To conquest and subsequent colonization, or to a process strictly analogous to these, we may trace whatever refinement and progress in the arts adorn every community in modern times, which, at any former period, was known to be sunk in barbarism; and, what is more, the foundation of improvement has been, in too many instances, established on the violent demolition of native habits, manners, and institutions. Extirpation, says Mr. Barrow, has followed close upon colonization in all countries inhabited by a savage or half civilized people. The unconquerable avidity for spirituous liquors, on the part of the savages, and the same propensity for their possessions on that of the colonists, have produced contentions, encroachments, and spoliation, which terminate invariably to the detriment of the natives, and too frequently in their utter extermination.

The plan of sending a few negroes, instructed in England, to superintend the education of their countrymen, has been often recommended, and in several instances been submitted to a fair trial. The African Institution, with a zeal and humanity which cannot be sufficiently extolled, have made several attempts in this way at Sierra Leone; but hitherto not with a success corresponding to their benevolent intentions. It is a curious fact, exemplified in innumerable cases, that savages of all orders are much inclined to return to their primitive condition, and to shake off at once the restraints and the polish of civilized life. Several Hottentots, it is generally known, who were educated in England, and one or two of whom afterwards were appointed to fill offices under government at the Cape, stole away, and resumed among their miserable kindred all the manners of the Kraal. On the present occasion, too, a native of Congo, who had been

entrusted when about ten years of age to a Liverpool captain, to carry him to Britain for education, but who was sold by the conscientious mariner as a slave, and carried to St. Kitt's, returned with Capt. Tuckey to the land of his birth—was received with open arms by his aged parent—and in a few days, although now in full manhood, and after having been many years in the navy, was as much a savage in dress and inclination as those who had never been on the "great water."

Colonization, on a large scale, if such a measure were either practicable or desirable in such a country, combined with the use of direct means for instructing the negro tribes in the arts, and in rational religion, is perhaps the only plan that ever will succeed. In this view, we agree with our author that it would be worth while to induce a few of the Moravian missionaries to settle in a negro village "to instruct the natives in the useful arts of agriculture, manufactures, and trade: to make them feel the comforts and advantages of acquiring a surplus property; to instil into their minds sound moral precepts; and to divert their attention from their gross and senseless superstitions to the mild and rational principles and precepts of the Christian religion." We owe much compensation to Africa; our foot long pressed heaviest on the necks of her injured population; the whip was long in the hands of British subjects; her blood and her groans are recorded against us; and thus, if it is within the reach of human means, it behoves us to exert ourselves to make her at length share the blessings of security, of civilized government, and of religious truth.

Before leaving the narrative of Capt. Tuckey we have to observe, that, though he himself did not fully succeed in the object of his mission, he has paved the way for success to those who shall follow him. He has shown that the explorer of the Zaire should not embark on it, until he has passed the narrows; and then two or three boats or canoes, which might be carried overland in frame, would suffice for the navigation upwards, thus saving the immense exertion which led to the death of the principal persons in the late attempt. Mules or asses, which could easily be procured at the Cape de Verde islands, would prove most serviceable in conveying the men and luggage to the point of embarkation; and if the accounts of the native traders are at all to be relied upon, there would be no material obstruction for several hundred miles. We are not without hopes that a year or two more will solve the interesting problem, on which we have so long detained the attention of the reader, and make out by actual survey the identity of the two mysterious rivers.

Next to the subject just mentioned in point of importance, or at least of curiosity, among African researches, we may con-

fidently rank the ascertainment of the locality of Tombuctoo; and certainly never was the adage "*omne ignotum pro magnifico*" found to apply more strictly to any discovery than to that of this celebrated city. All the barbaric pomp and gold of the earlier writers has now completely disappeared, and nothing remains but mud huts and squalid nudity. Even the queen wears no shoes, and her feet, of consequence, are "as hard and dry as the hoofs of an ass." In no particular did the Portuguese fall into a greater mistake than with regard to the situation of Tombuctoo; which they obstinately placed at about three hundred miles east from the mouth of the Gambia, clearly identifying it with the town still known by the name of Tambacunda. Park was the first to supply a full correction of this error, by carrying it as far east as the meridian of Greenwich, or somewhat more than eleven hundred miles from the shores of the Atlantic. Of late, too, we have had the concurring testimony of Adams, the sailor, who lived in it six months, and of Sidi Hamet, the Arab merchant already referred to, who had made repeated journeys to it in the way of business, and likewise occasionally resided there, in good understanding with the persons in power. As the story of Adams is generally known, we shall not refer to it further than to remind our readers that, upon being wrecked near El Gazie, he was carried into the desert by the Moors, who, being overcome in a skirmish by a party of negroes, were themselves sent forward as prisoners to Tombuctoo. Adams was well treated by the negro sovereign—for it is now clear that Tombuctoo is no longer a Moorish state—the queen and her attendants sitting for hours together, looking at him and a Portuguese boy, who had been taken at the same time. The king and the queen, he says, were old grey-headed people; the former named *Woolla*, the latter *Fatima*. Their dress, as already hinted, was far from being superb; and when devouring their mess of porridge, made of Guinea corn and water, they used their fingers by way of spoon, having neither knife nor fork, nor any thing artificial to supply their place.

The town is situated on a level plain, and appeared to Adams to cover as much ground as Lisbon. He is unable to give any idea of the number of inhabitants; but as the houses are built in a straggling manner, it is probable that it bears a small proportion to the extent of the place. The huts are square, built of sticks, clay, and grass, with flat roofs of the same materials. The rooms are all on the ground floor, and are without any article of furniture, except wooden bowls, earthen jars, and mats made of grass, upon which the people sleep.

He mentions that about two hundred yards from the town, on the south-east side, there is a river called La Mar Zarah; which

appeared to him to flow to the south-west, and to be about three quarters of a mile broad. He was never, it ought to be remarked, more than two miles to the southward of the city, and, of course, did not see the Joliba. He states, however, that he frequently heard the natives of Tudenny speak of it, and describe it as laying between that place and Bambarra. It should seem that at Tombuctoo this river goes by another name; and hence, as well as from other causes, has arisen a variety of mistakes and misconceptions, relative to the course of that remarkable stream.

Among the new facts brought to light by the narratives of Adams and the scattered notices of Sidi Hamet, one of the most surprising, or rather perhaps the most unexpected, is the assurance given by both these authorities that Tombuctoo is now a negro state, and that the Moors are completely deprived of authority, as well as of all the privileges of citizenship, in that ancient entrepot of African commerce. From the details supplied to us by Park, we were led to believe that Tombuctoo was entirely in the hands of Mahometans; and, indeed, it was owing to this circumstance that he did not think it adviseable to hazard a visit to it, either on his first or second journey. It seems very doubtful, however, whether the information upon which Park proceeded in the latter instance was altogether authentic, at least to its full extent; for Mr. Jackson mentions that, in 1800, the whole of Bambarra, including Tombuctoo, was under a sovereign of the name of Woolli, of negro extraction. The point, indeed, is not deserving of much discussion: nor would it be easy, with our present stock of materials, to divest it of all ambiguity; but from the concurring testimony of the latest travellers, we are not permitted to doubt both that the Moors have been expelled, and that a dynasty of native blood is again on the throne.

Riley, in the words of the Sidi, describes Tombuctoo as a large place, containing, upon a rough calculation, 216,000 inhabitants, entirely negro; and adds, that, even in the way of trade, no Moor is allowed to enter, "unless fifty at a time unarmed from each caravan." He further mentions, that there is a separate town divided off from the principal one, by a strong partition wall, and appropriated to such Mussulmen as are allowed to remain at Tombuctoo. As a proof, also, that the supersition of Mohammed is not observed here, we are informed that the people of that city "do not fear and worship God like the Mussulmen, but, like the people of Soudan, they merely pray once in twenty-four hours, and only when they see the new moon." In confirmation, too, of Adam's account of La Mar Zarah, we are told that "a small river runs close to the town;" but that, as it is sometimes dry, "the inhabitants go for water to the great river, which lies about an hour's ride of a camel to the south." The former does

not, it must be admitted, call the Mar Zarah a *small* river; he states, however, that the water is "rather brackish," a circumstance which would naturally occasion, during the dry season, that dependance on the Niger for supplies to which Sidi Hamet makes allusion.

The mean appearance of the city, contrasted with our lofty conceptions of its grandeur (which, by the bye, we have all along taken very much upon trust), proved at first rather a stumbling block in the way of our belief as to the recent narratives respecting central Africa. Upon suitable reflection, however, and a due examination into the best authorities, it is found that even those who speak of its trade in the most pompous language do not, in their account of its buildings, differ greatly from the moderns, who describe it as an irregular assemblage of huts constructed of mud and straw. Leo Africanus, who wrote nearly three hundred years ago, says, "*Le sui case sono capanne fatti di pali coperte di creta co i cortive di paglia*"—their dwellings are cabins constructed with sticks, covered with clay, and thatched with straw,—and Park supplies us with the notice that the flourishing cities of Sego and Sansunding are built of mud, precisely in the same manner as Adams describes the houses of Tombuctoo. It is not improbable, however, that under the Moorish sway, there may have been more wealth and magnificence, in the last mentioned city, than met the eyes of Adams, in the year 1811; and that there has been a revolution in the state since the period of Park's first journey, is proved by a variety of facts, independently of the decisive one already referred to of the present undisputed preponderance of negro power. The existence of a new nation on the northern border of the desert, composed of Moorish soldiers and merchants (the latter of whom carrying on an extensive trade with London), has been regarded as a proof that some one of their establishments in the interior has been broken up; and this fact, viewed in connexion with the particular period of its occurrence, and with the pursuits of the people who form the new establishment, renders it extremely probable that these persons, known in Barbary as the subjects of Cidi Hemish, are refugees from Tombuctoo. It seems difficult, as Mr. Murray observes, to account otherwise for so many opulent merchants taking up their abode in such a place; whilst upon the supposition now made, nothing could be more natural in such a colony than the establishment of a market for the commodities of Soudan.

In relation to Tombuctoo we have only further to mention that slave-hunting is reduced to a complete system, and followed as a principal source of emolument. About once a month, according to Adams, a party of a hundred or more of armed

men marched out to procure slaves; who after an absence, varying from one week to four, returned bringing in considerable numbers. The slaves were generally a different race of people from those of Tombuctoo, and differently clothed; being, as he understood, from Bambarra, a country lying to the south and west of that city. It has been calculated that about 20,000 of these miserable beings cross the desert annually; and there is some reason to fear, as we have already suggested, that unless we keep a sharp look out in the Mediterranean, the trade in this quarter will increase, in proportion as it shall be checked on the western coast.

The last two years have been unusually productive of knowledge with regard to Africa; and what we are now going to mention respects a nation hitherto very imperfectly known, and whose territory has been merely guessed at, from its having obtained a place in our maps. We allude to the Ashantees, a people situated to the north and eastward of Cape Coast Castle. It appears from information communicated by the Governor of that fort that, in 1815, the Ashantee army drove under his walls a tribe called the Fantees, who have for some time enjoyed the protection of the British; which event led first to a negotiation with the victorious general, and afterwards to an amicable arrangement between the belligerent powers. The African Society, availing themselves of this opening, instructed the Governor to dispatch a mission to Ashantee, "who should endeavour to obtain satisfactory information on the nature of the country, the soil and products; the names, distances, latitudes, and longitudes of the chief places; the manners of the people; their laws, customs, and government; the chief objects of commerce, particularly gold and ivory; and, if possible, to procure permission for some children of the chiefs to be educated at Cape Coast Castle."

Accordingly on the 21st of April, 1817, an embassy set out from the fort; and after a circuitous route of nearly 200 miles, the gentlemen composing it arrived at Cormarcie, the capital, where they experienced a very favourable reception from the King. The town, like all the other negro residences with which we are acquainted, is made up of huts, constructed of wattled bamboo and clay. The surrounding country seems not unpleasant, consisting of low hills and valleys, and abounding in large trees; which, however, are applied to no use, "their timber being too hard to be worked by the tools of the natives." Cotton is cultivated with success, and so is tobacco; the latter, however, not being nearly equal to the consumption, large quantities of it are imported by the Portuguese. Yams and plantains constitute the principal food of the natives; the culture of all kinds of

corn being entirely neglected. Palm wine, in a fermented state, is their common beverage. They have beef, mutton, buffalo, hogs, deer, and monkeys; which last is their favourite dish. A religious prejudice prevents the royal family from eating beef. Elephants and camels are seen in great numbers; and the panthers are so excessively numerous and daring that from three to four persons are carried off by them every night in the outskirts of the town.

The King sits three times a-week in public to administer justice; and it is a rule with the Ashantees that the gainer of a cause pays the expenses of the suit. His Majesty himself does not claim an exemption from the processes and awards of law; for when an action is raised *versus* his barbarian highness, he submits his cause to the determination of the principal men; and if found in the wrong, he readily makes an apology, or whatever other compensation may be thought due to the injured party. The government, notwithstanding, is a pure despotism, and the King is the universal heir. His wives amount to the enormous number of 3334. They inhabit a particular part of the city which is walled in; and it is death for any person even to pass near the gate leading to their residence. When any of them walk abroad, they are attended by a train of boys and eunuchs, and by a military guard, who shoot without scruple all who do not fly on their approach.

" Human sacrifices are so frequent as to render Cormarcie on this account a very disgusting residence for a European; ' they play with a man,' as they term it, every forty-three days. A criminal, or if none is to be had, a prisoner of war, if of high rank so much the more acceptable, is brought out into an open space, and taken possession of by twelve or fourteen men hideously painted, and dressed in tiger skins, each being armed with two knives. They commence by thrusting a knife through the cheek, and transfixing the tongue, so as to prevent their victim from uttering any cries; they then insert a knife near the shoulder blade, on each side of the back bone; and lastly pass a cord through the cartilage of the nose. The poor wretch is then made to dance, and is mangled with deliberate cruelty for five or six hours. He is then led before the King's residence, that the sovereign may be gratified by the spectacle of his last sufferings, and finally of his decapitation. Whenever the King goes to visit the tombs of his ancestors he is obliged to propitiate them by the slaughter of from six to twelve human beings. The son of the King of Akim, a child seven or eight years old, taken at the conquest of the country, was placed in a brass pan on a man's head, the people dancing around him, in front of the chief temple, or *fetiche* house; the boy was then ripped open, his head cut off, and the mangled carcass thrown into the enclosure of the temple, as a present from the King. The daily sight of these and similar cruelties produces its natural effect on the manners of the

people, who make no scruple of sacrificing any person at the instigation of revenge or gain; and though no one by law is allowed to sacrifice a human being without the consent of the King being previously obtained, yet it is frequently done by the rich, either as an offering to their ancestors or from respect to their own *fetiche*. The ditch round is the general receptacle for these dead bodies, in consequence of which all water for domestic use is obtained from wells."

The embassy had not returned to Cape Coast when the last accounts reached this country. Letters have however been received in England dated at Cormarcie, from which the above details were extracted; and they have been further abridged by us from Thomson's Annals, No. 61.

A little to the north, and somewhat further east, we meet with a people still more remarkable and original in their manners, than the Ashantees, namely, the subjects of the King of Dahomy. In physical properties these are a fine race of negroes; their appearance is manly, and their persons are strong and active. Like the ancient Spartans, they combine politeness with ferocity, and the utmost practical cruelty with a generous and humane demeanour. The leading maxim of a Dahoman warrior is expressed in these words; "My head belongs to the King, not to myself; if he please to send for it, I am ready to resign it; or if it be shot through in battle, I am satisfied, if it be in his service." The palace of the Monarch is an extensive building of bamboo and mud-walled huts, surrounded by a similar wall about twenty feet high, enclosing a quadrangular space of about a mile square. The entrance to the King's apartments is paved with human skulls, the lateral walls adorned with human jaw bones, with a few bloody heads intermixed at intervals. The long building resembles a number of farm-yards; and on the thatched roofs numerous human skulls are ranged at certain distances, on small wooden stakes. In allusion to these, when the King issues orders for war, he only announces to his general that his house wants thatch. A very singular monopoly prevails at Dahomy, and which, like some other branches of restricted trade, seems a good deal abused. The King and his principal officers engross completely all the females of the nation; and no man accordingly can get a wife except at an enormous price, and on the most disadvantageous conditions. "When an individual is able to procure 20,000 cowries, he prostrates himself at the gate of the sovereign, or of his vicegerent; presents the money, and begs to be favoured with a wife; when, instead of having the opportunity of selecting a natural friend, suited to his taste and adapted to gratify the affections of his heart, he must take the female assigned him, whether she be old or young, handsome or deformed. Sometimes out of malicious sport, a man's own

mother is handed out to him, so that he both misses a wife and loses his money." To employ a portion of his supernumary ladies the King has formed them into a body guard; and these, to the amount of several hundreds, are regularly trained to the use of arms under a female general, perform their military evolutions with as great dexterity as any other of the Dahoman troops, and parade in the streets with their standards, drums, trumpets, flutes, and martial music. As to religion, the native of Dahomy has no very distinct notions, and no great desire to be informed. Perhaps, exclaimed one of their chiefs to Snelgrave, who was attempting to instruct him, " Perhaps that God may be yours, who has communicated so many extraordinary things to white men; but as that God has not been pleased to make himself known to us, we must be satisfied with this we worship." These heroic negroes have likewise scalds or bards, who string their exploits together in rude verse, and chant them to the warriors on solemn occasions. It is said, however, that some of their compositions are so extremely prolix as to occupy several days in the rehearsal; on which account it must be very obvious that nothing but the pleasure of hearing himself praised could induce a savage King or his scalping general to become an auditor. To prove, too that in other respects, they have made some progress in the arts, we may mention that they are successful in manufacturing and dyeing cotton cloth, and that they have made considerable proficiency in the working of metals. We may, therefore, indulge a hope that, through the channel lately opened up from Cape Coast Castle into the interior, the stream of improvement and civilization will gradually make its way until it reach the centre of Africa, and thence diffuse itself over all the barbarous regions of that wide and ill-fated continent.

It will occur to most readers that, if we shall succeed in cultivating an acquaintance with the Ashantees, and through them with the ruler of Dahomy, a great facility will be thereby presented to us for prosecuting discoveries to the eastward, and particularly towards the lakes of Wangara. Hitherto, some of the greatest obstacles to success have arisen from the suspicions of the natives that we had more in view than we professed to have; for it has been found next to impossible to make them believe that white men should cross the ocean, and their more dangerous wildernesses, merely to ascertain the course of a river, and to take drawings of old houses. Major Peddie's party, it should seem, were detained several months by one of the chiefs, near the source of the Rio Nunez, on pretence that a war was about to break out, and that they, in consequence, would be exposed to danger; and Mr. Legh was on the point of being

stopped among the Barabras, from a suspicion that he was the leader of spies. "I know," said the Cacheff, "what sort of a people you are; I have consulted my cup, and learn by it that you are those of whom one of our people has said, that there would be Franks in disguise, who by little presents, and by soothing and insinuating behaviour, would pass every where, examine the state of the country, go afterwards to make a report of it, and bring at last a great number of other Franks who would conquer the country and exterminate all; but," added he, "I will take care of that." If then we could make the kings of Ashantee or Dahomy comprehend our object, and take part in our curiosity, there seems to be little doubt but that they would afford means for realizing our views; in so far at least as to grant a safe passage, competent guides, and, if necessary, a military escort. Perhaps there are nations beyond those now mentioned who might still throw obstacles in our way, and dispute our right to proceed into the heart of the country only so much the more obstinately as we were in alliance with their neighbours. At all events, it must be very manifest that, of all the plans to explore Africa, none could be more likely to succeed than one founded upon the co-operation of the native powers.

Of southern Africa, or that vast extent of country which stretches northward from the Cape of Good Hope to the parallel of the Zaire, nothing very new or important has occurred since the travels of Barrow and Lichtenstein. Dr. Campbell, the missionary, indeed, has penetrated a considerable way into the interior, and has seen all that could be seen of the Bojesmans, the Coranas, and the people of Lectakoo; but he has not told us any thing additional to make up the deficiency of information so long regretted as to the actual condition of society to the northward of the Orange River. Campbell corroborates the accounts given by former travellers of the mild and obliging manners of the inhabitants of Lectakoo. He was on the whole well received; and his proposal to form a missionary settlement was acceded to by the King, who, at the same time, promised to treat the members of it with kindness and consideration. At first, indeed, his Majesty rather questioned the propriety of exciting his subjects to deep study and novel speculations, urging as his reason that the people were so much occupied with their cattle, planting, and other branches of industry, that they could have little or no time to receive instruction. Campbell met his objection, and removed it, by reminding the good-natured potentate that Christians were more industrious than the Lectakooans, and did more work, notwithstanding the apparent loss of time from reading and similar pursuits. The King yielded to reason, and Campbell gained his point; but what has been

the extent of his success in spreading sound religion and industrious habits, we know not, and have no means of ascertaining. To give a specimen however of the materials upon which he had to work, we may quote an answer returned by one of the people to a question put by the Doctor, in the course of his preparatory labours with his catechumens. "What was man made for?" said the Missionary: "For plundering expeditions," answered the bold Bojesman. Not a good spirit this certainly to engraft Christianity upon; still, if means could be used to induce them to plow and sow, instead of carrying off each other's cattle, we know not a class of people in all Africa more likely to profit by good example and wise admonition than the men of Lectakoo.

As no intelligence of any importance from the Eastern coast—from the Cape to the Straits of Babelmandel—has been conveyed to England since the publication of Mr. Salt's "Voyage to Abyssinia," we proceed to extract a few notices from Mr. Legh's book, already referred to, on the "country beyond the cataracts."

The last twenty years have rendered the wonders of upper Egypt very familiar to Europeans; and as far as ruins and inscriptions are considered, we have really little to expect, and nothing to desire. Denon and Hamilton have already inspected every cavern, and applied their microscopic eyes to every column, slab, and entablature; so that Mr. Legh had scarcely any object between Cairo and Essouen to excite his curiosity, or to gratify his love of research. He therefore resolved to ascend the river above Lyene, to visit the cataracts, and to penetrate, if possible, into the unexplored parts of Nubia. The sight of the water-falls, which are said in old times to have deafened the half of Egypt, created no feeling in his mind but that of disappointment. The descent seemed not to exceed three feet; and perhaps, as the author himself remarks, a tolerably correct idea will be formed of the appearance of these falls by the mention of the fact, that the boys of the neighbouring huts would at any time, for the reward of a *para*, dive into the most rapid cascade, and reappear at the distance of forty or fifty yards below. At Guerpeh Hassan, about fifty miles above the cataracts, he examined an excavated temple; and at Dakki, nine miles further up, he saw the remains of a fine Christian church. The present inhabitants of that part of Nubia are Mahometans; and although constitutionally gentle, have no great love for Christians. A journey of nine days from Syene brought him to Dehr, where he met with rather a blunt reception from Hassan, the cacheff of the district, who asked him roughly what he wanted, and then told him the story of having "consulted his cup." The present of a fine Damascus sword, however, obtained permission for Mr. Legh to

proceed to Ibrim, a few miles further up the river. There he found nothing worth a detailed description; for the Mamelukes, who had been recently expelled from Egypt, having taken refuge in the upper part of Nubia, had destroyed or greatly defaced all the remains of antiquity. He accordingly once more turned his face towards the north, and descended the Nile to Cairo.

In the course of his travels in the countries now referred to, Mr. Legh twice met with a young Swiss, Mr. Burchardt, who passed under the assumed name of Shekh Ibrahim, and who was employed by the African Association in exploring those parts of the continent. He informed our author that he had been robbed and detained six months among the Bedouin Arabs; that before his last interview he had been living in the villages of the desert upon lentiles, and bread and water, which had given him the thin frame and meagre look of a common Arab. "We separated," says Mr. Legh, "wishing him every success in his spirited expedition: certainly no one was ever better fitted for such an undertaking; his enterprize, his various attainments in almost every living language, and his talent for observation, are above all praise." Alas! poor Burchardt is dead. He fell a victim to his great exertions, and died at Cairo a few months ago of a dysentery, brought on, we believe, by excessive fatigue and exhaustion. His "Travels in Syria," we observe, are announced as being in the press.

Since Mr. Legh's return, Mr. Banks, another of our countrymen, has penetrated into Nubia still further than the former, and reached the second cataract,—or that in the neighbourhood of Genadil. His observations are said to be very important: and, in particular, he discovered the remains of statues, which even surpass "the colossal proportions of the Memnonian." One, which was buried in the ground, presented a head measuring twelve feet from the chin upwards. In another place the whole side of a mountain was cut away, so as to form a perpendicular wall, chiselled out into regular columns with capitals, and adorned with numerous hieroglyphics: the whole forming the front of a magnificent temple. Mr. Banks has thus trodden ground untouched by the foot of any native of modern Europe; for Bruce passed Genadil considerably to the east, whilst Poncet directed his course to Moscho, by a route on the western bank of the Nile.

We have left ourselves no room to exercise the office of critics; nor do the works before us present a suitable field for strictures of a mere literary nature. Tuckey's Narrative is posthumous and incomplete; but, notwithstanding that circumstance, we are bound in justice to observe, that the details are clearly stated, and well expressed. Mr. Murray's is the only production amongst

them which comes from the hands of a professed author; and, generally speaking, it does him great credit. It is, at all events, a most useful book, containing the outlines of all that is known concerning Africa, and affording an excellent guide to all who wish to consult the works of African discovery, whether ancient or modern.

Art. VII.—CHURCH MISSIONARY CONTROVERSY.

1. *An Address to a Meeting holden at Bath, under the Presidency of the Hon. and Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Gloucester, on December* 1, 1817, *for the Purpose of forming a Church Missionary Society in that City; Word for Word as delivered from Writing: with a Protest against the Establishment of such a Society in Bath.* By the Rev. Josiah Thomas, A.M. Archdeacon of Bath. 8vo. pp. 16. Baldwin and Co. London, 1817.
2. *A Defence of the Church Missionary Society against the Objections of the Rev. Josiah Thomas, M.A. Archdeacon of Bath.* By Daniel Wilson, M.A. Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row. 8vo. pp. 44. Wilson. London, 1818.
3. *A Letter to the Rev. Daniel Wilson, A.M. Minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, London, in Reply to his Defence of the Church Missionary Society, and in Vindication of the Rev. the Archdeacon of Bath, against the Censures contained in that Publication.* By the Rev. William Baily Whitehead, A.M. Vicar of Twiverton, near Bath, and late Fellow of Worcester College, Oxford. 8vo. pp. 46. Rivington and Co. London, 1818.
4. *A Reply to Mr. Wilson's Defence of the Church Missionary Society.* 8vo. pp. 69. Baldwin and Co. London, 1818.
5. *A Letter to the Rev. W. B. Whitehead, M.A. Vicar of Twiverton, near Bath, &c. &c. on the Question of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction over Voluntary Charitable Associations, particularly with Reference to the "Protest" of the Rev. Archdeacon of Bath.* By William Albin Garratt, Esq. M.A. Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 19. Seeley. London, 1818.
6. *A Second Protest against the Church Missionary Society; addressed to Lord James O'Brien, Chairman to the Committee of the Bath Missionary Association.* 8vo. pp. 12. Hatchard, London, 1818.
7. *A Letter to the Rev. Josiah Thomas, A.M. Archdeacon of Bath.* By a Member of the Church of England. 8vo. pp. 8. Hatchard. London, 1818.

8. *Free Thoughts on the Bath Missionary Society, and on the Address to that Assembly, by the Rev. Josiah Thomas, A.M. Archdeacon of Bath.* By a Friend to Consistency. 8vo. pp. 15. Higman. Bath, 1818.
9. *Counter Protest of a Layman, in Reply to the Protest of Archdeacon Thomas.* By George Pryme, Esq. M.A. Barrister at Law, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 16. Hatchard. London, 1818.
10. *A brief Defence of the Archdeacon of Bath.* By the Author of Free Thoughts. 8vo. pp. 15. Bath, 1818.
11. *A Defence of the Protest of the Rev. Archdeacon Thomas, in Reply to the Rev. Daniel Wilson; with Strictures on the Rev. T. T. Biddulph's Letter to the Rev. F. Elwin.* By a Member of the Church of England. 8vo. pp. 16. Bristol, 1818.

Among the organs with which it seems nature has supplied mankind, craniologists, we believe, have discovered that of *quarrelsomeness*; and if it be so, it is easy to imagine the high state of development in which this most important appendage to the human system must often be found. It must be by far the most excitable of all our organs. Let us take an example, and it shall be one of the graver kind. Assume, if it be but for the sake of argument, Christianity to be really a revelation from God, and of the highest importance to the temporal and eternal interests of the human race: assume, further, that the volume which reveals it has thrown no hopeful gleam upon the condition of those millions of human beings to whom it has not extended, but that, on the contrary, it has left their destiny untold, in order to excite the compassion, and summon the charitable energies, of those who are themselves in possession of the blessing, and have it in their power to communicate it. Let us assume, further, that the Church of England was founded upon these suppositions, and appointed all its vast apparatus of bishops, deans, archdeacons, &c. down to the humblest curate of a country vicarage, for the express purpose of teaching men the duties, and of conveying to them the benefits of the gospel. Now supposing the fact unascertained, the zeal and energy which might be expected to be displayed by the said personages, on this supposition of Christianity being really true, need not be described. It might be expected naturally to bear a due proportion to their faith in that interesting hypothesis. Now if under these circumstances, a company of benevolent individuals should assemble and contribute their pecuniary assistance towards diffusing to heathen lands the above-mentioned blessings, and who, being admirers of the Church of England, as well as believers

in our common Christianity, should determine that all their conduct, and especially their choice of missionaries and other agents, should be in full conformity with the doctrines and discipline of the Established Church; is it possible to suppose that any just occasion would be given for the display of a litigious spirit on the part even of those gentlemen who might not see fit to join the society? We say nothing of the eagerness with which it might have been anticipated they would take up the cause; we say nothing of the conduct which a firm belief in the universal importance of the Gospel might have been expected to excite; whatever they themselves chose to do or to leave undone, they might at least be expected to be neutrals, if not positive admirers, in reference to the conduct of others more active or benevolent than themselves. At all events, it could not be reasonably anticipated that they should be really angry because some of their brethren had been found to commiserate the heathen, and to be anxious for supplying their spiritual wants.

Yet, unhappily, so irritable on some occasions is the aforesaid organ, that even circumstances like these, circumstances perfectly innocent in all their natural tendency and bearings, have been found to excite no small degree of morbid action. Our readers would scarcely believe us, were not the fact perfectly notorious, that a society whose sole object is the conversion of the heathen, who interfere with no domestic discipline or regulations, who blame no persons for differing from them, or not joining them, who conduct themselves in voluntary and faithful conformity to the established religion, should have been attacked by a dignitary of the Church of England in a public assembly, convened exclusively for its friends (and where, consequently, he had no right to intrude), and this with an asperity of language, and a vehemence of manner, which even a dignitary of a more intolerant church would have scarcely ventured to adopt; yet such was the fact; and the controversy before us proves that it has not passed away unnoticed, or failed to excite the animadversion which it deserved.

We need not inform any of our readers that it was at a meeting convened at Bath on the first of last December, for forming a local association in aid of the "Church Missionary Society," that the Rev. Josiah Thomas, the Archdeacon of that city, obtruded himself upon the assembly, and delivered the speech and protest which form the basis of the present controversy. We need not give our readers any extracts from the Archdeacon's pamphlet, as it has been already sufficiently circulated; yet as it may be important for us to record his arguments in a more permanent shape than the pages of a controversial pamphlet, we venture to admit the following poetical imitation. We are not

quite friends to this mode of conducting hostilities; but as all the Archdeacon's arguments are really given in a manner not less convincing than in his pamphlet itself, we do not hesitate to admit it.

My Lord, the Vice Patron and head of this meeting,
I come as Archdeacon to give you my greeting;
Presuming, as churchmen, you'll grant me the right
To condemn all your measures, and put you to flight.
Not to speak without book is a part of my creed;—
Instead then of speaking, allow me to read.
But before I advance, as a caution initial,
I'd just have you know that my speech is official;
That I speak as a churchman to churchmen alone
Such truths as your Lordship will scarcely disown,
Though quite out of fashion, and obsolete grown.
Howe'er for your Lordship and others I feel,
Well knowing your laudable virtue and zeal,
Yet I beg to express my conviction *imprimis*,
That your new-fangled scheme breaks the rule *ne quid nimis*;
Since another most Christian and wise corporation
Undertakes unrestricted to preach to each nation.
I *secondly* venture to say for myself
That I hate both your rules, regulations, and pelf.
And, *thirdly*, I see that subversion and ruin
Will infallibly flow from the scheme you are brewing;
Especially now, when new sects in the Church
Leave us, the old stagers, knee deep in the lurch.
And *fourthly*, I see the society's path,
If it lie through our peaceable city of Bath,
Will plunge us in feuds and pernicious disorder:—
So much for my text—now for each in its order.
To show your society, *first*, was not needed,
Another exists, though unknown and unheeded;
Of which both my friends, and myself, might take shame
That we have not supported, and scarce known the name.
I, *secondly*, state 'tis a point circumstantial
That you stoop to such projects of meanness financial,
(From servants and school-boys, and all that are willing,
Taking farthings and pence till they make up a shilling;)
That no churchman, whatever his merits or station,
Can stand the effects of such vile degradation;
Especially since to such schemes you resort
As I find in rule sixth of your last year's Report;
By which each collector in country or city
Your sermons may read and attend your committee.
But, *thirdly*, I said your society tends
To sever our clergy, and Church's best friends;—
Can an evidence stronger be offer'd in proof
Than the scene now occurring beneath this same roof,

Where we see the Lord Bishop of Gloster preside
At a meeting by orthodox churchmen decried,
Disclaim'd by our Bishop, and me the Archdeacon,
Who stand at this day Bath's protector and beacon.
Does the Right Rev'rend Prelate, then, know of this fact?
And if so, by what warrant or rule does he act?
Does he come, to our want of due vigilance trusting,
Into other men's harvests his sickle thus thrusting?
Did he think, good Lord Bishop, that, while he was reaping
The fruits of our labour, we all should be sleeping?
Did he think us, the orthodox clergy, such fools,
As to let him thus slip through canonical rules?
By which, as is doubtless both usual and fit,
E'en Deans to Archdeacons are bound to submit.
Why strive thus to wrench all authority from us
Diocesan Beadon and Archdeacon Thomas?
But you call yourselves friends to the Church by your labours;
Then where, let me ask, are our clerical neighbours?
Was the meeting unknown, while our journals you're stuffing
With octagon sermons and newspaper puffing?
Or did I, the Archdeacon, contrive the prevention,
Who disclos'd not so much as my own wise intention?
But to speak the plain truth, 'tis a whim of new teachers,
SERIOUS CHRISTIANS yclep'd EVANGELICAL PREACHERS!
And far from promoting religion like mine,
Intelligent, orderly, manly, divine,
Is supported by names, which, though justly respected
On all other accounts, must on this be rejected,
That they live with dissenters as Christians and friends,
Which no churchman can do without sinister ends.
Yet think not I come here my protest to enter
Against any calm conscientious dissenter;
I venerate piety e'en in my nurse,
And honesty love, though I think it perverse.
Respectable men! for they halt not between
Two adverse opinions, as some that I've seen;
They go not about, for they're true to each other,
To rail at the weakness or sins of a brother.—
No, these are perfections of virtue and zeal
Which none but our "serious Christians" can feel.
"Serious Christians!" and whence is this arrogant name
Shall none but themselves the prerogative claim?
"*Evangelical Ministers*" too—why forsooth
More so than their brethren who speak the same truth,
Profess the same faith, and repeat the same psalter,
Enjoy the same priesthood, and serve the same altar?—
To the title of churchmen your claim is preferred
On two simple points; I would therefore be heard.
Who is it that stirs up this kettle of porridge?
Doctors Ryder o Gloucester, and Bathurst of Norwich.—

Now if you are churchmen, as most of you say,
What kept all the other grave prelates away?
Again for the East while these high things you utter,
What becomes of the Bishop my Lord of Calcutta?
For of this I'm assured---what a lack of good breeding!
His name ne'er occurs to attest your proceeding;
Which I find is confided, alas! more the pity!
To an artful and vile "corresponding committee."—
You call yourselves churchmen—oh! what an evasion
When you deign to shake hands with each non-con persuasion.
Which fact, if admitted, would plainly unravel
The reason why pietists restlessly travel
Over seas and o'er land to promote new dissensions
And disturb their own country with strife and contentions.
I proceed now to show that, to do as they wish us,
To the city of Bath would be plainly pernicious;
For scarce is the peace of the city restored,
The vessel, half wrecked, in security moored,
Since grossly abused and insulted, the rector
Called in the police to become his protector.
To form then a Branch would but heighten the feud;
And encourage the party, still more to intrude;
'Twould be putting a match to a twice loaded pistol,
And render poor Bath like the hot-bed of Bristol.
Forefend, I beseech you, the groundless suggestion,
That I'm hostile, my Lord, to the *objects* in question.
Ah no! but I dread the society's plan,
Your officers, members, and all the whole clan,
A society fitted as justly to lurk
In a Swedenborg meeting, or sly Scottish kirk,
As to call itself Church, while each churchman complains
That there runs not a drop of church blood in its veins.
Ah no! each true Church must be founded in order,
Must entrench its own castle, and keep its own border;
Such a system, I'm told, or the groundwork at least,
Apostolic commission has laid in the East;
Over which, to the shame of your new-fangled guides,
A sound Apostolical Bishop presides;
A system all beauty, and virtue, and union,
But with which your society holds no communion.
To conclude my remarks, I'd just have you remember
That you're summon'd together this first of December,
To establish among us a branch Lilliputian,
Of an over-grown, haughty, unsound institution;
And this not beneath our own Bishop Beadon,
Who alone, as you know, has a warrant to lead one;
But beneath Bishop Ryder, to add to the beauty,
Who himself is fast pledged to canonical duty;
And who, if he move but one finger, rebels
Against his own prelate of Bath and of Wells.

In the name of the Bishop of Bath, who declares;
That he just thinks as I do on all these affairs:
In a name that but yields to the Bishop's alone,
A name of authority—that is my own;
In the name of our rectors, all orthodox men,
In the name of the clergy, at least nine in ten,
I protest—but my purpose was not to debate,
Or to hear any answer to what I should state;
In the name of my Bishop, and in my own name
Protesting I go, as protesting I came.

And now, after so gay a commencement of our labours, our readers will perhaps suppose that we intend in "merry guise" to treat the whole affair as a mere matter of *badinage* and ridicule. We can, however, assure them, that such is very far from our intention; and we can only wonder, grave and afflicted as we really feel on the subject, that we have been betrayed for one moment into an apparent levity. We seriously consider the question agitated in these pamphlets as one of the most important that can be raised in a Christian nation. We view the solution of it as intimately connected with the best interests of Christianity, of the Church of England, and of the human race at large. We trust, therefore, to be excused even by our less theological readers for a somewhat extended examination of the subject, and in return shall endeavour so to conduct our remarks as not to weary them by the details of a question, which, to be viewed fairly and fully, must be examined in all its native dignity and importance, independently of every local and personal consideration.

The controversy before us particularly involves *three* points:—1. The more local and technical dispute between Archdeacon Thomas and the friends of the Church Missionary Society; 2. The general merits of the Society itself; and, 3. The great question relative to missions in general.

On the first, and by no means the least important, when viewed in its possible bearings and results, we shall now make a few remarks. We cannot be wholly indifferent on a question so intimately connected with the interests of the Church, and the rights of our fellow countrymen. Archdeacon Thomas gravely claims it as a part of his ecclesiastical prerogative to disturb a meeting of the friends of a voluntary charitable society, convened in the town hall of a large city, and under the express sanction and support of the civil power! On what arguments, then, does he ground his right? Why, forsooth, he is Archdeacon of Bath! and as such is bound to interfere for the suppression of uncanonical meetings. His protest was "*official*." Really all this is too much—it is more than we expected—in this free country, and

in the nineteenth century. What! and may not a society of gentlemen meet to plan a hospital, or build a bridge, without an archdeacon to sanction and regulate their proceedings? Yes, it is replied; but *these* are secular meetings, whereas the one in question was of a *religious* nature, and professedly in connexion with the Established Church, and *therefore* the Archdeacon had a right and prerogative to interfere. And why so? Because "he is by law the Bishop's eye." And so truly he is to be the Bishop's head and hand also; to come forward where the Bishop declines to interfere, and to commit the episcopal name in an action, which was much more like a breach of the peace than the grave and sober interposition of legitimate authority. After this intemperate conduct of the Archdeacon, and his attack on a venerable prelate, in the chair at the Guildhall of Bath, we should not be greatly surprised to find him in the plenitude of his archi-diaconal power, setting up for a bishop on his own account, and gravely proceeding, without any special commission, to decide on the validity of wills, to enforce the payment of tithes, to determine matrimonial causes, and, we had almost said, even to exercise the Bishop's canonical power of ordination. At least we are perfectly convinced, that an assumption of these offices would not be one degree *more* presumptuous and unauthorized than his claim to interfere with an assembly under the civil sanction, in the Town Hall of Bath.

An archdeacon, as every one knows, in his highest exertions of power, is confessedly but the organ and agent of the bishop. In the case before us it certainly does not appear that the Right Reverend prelate of Bath and Wells deputed him to act on his behalf. On the contrary, though the public are not perfectly acquainted with the exact conferences that may have passed between his Lordship and the Archdeacon, as well as between his Lordship and his Honourable and Right Reverend Brother of Gloucester, we see enough to convince us, on a general view of the evidence, that Mr. Thomas never was commissioned to take upon him the part which he saw fit to act on this occasion. But even could it be proved that such commission *was* both given and received, still we argue that *the Bishop himself* had no legal control over such a meeting, and therefore could not delegate an authority which he does not possess. He had, it is true, a right to express to his clergy, and promulgate through his diocese, *an opinion* on this or on any other subject; and this opinion would of course have derived considerable weight from his Lordship's personal and official character. The Archdeacon, also, had equally a right, in his own sphere, to act in a similar manner. But neither the one, nor the other, could legally do more than *give an opinion*. The deference due,

and justly due to them on such a subject, would have been that of modest respect and attention, but by no means that of enjoined and unavoidable submission.

This supposed right, we have seen, is grounded on the circumstance, that the meeting was of a *religious* kind in connexion with the Church of England, and, as such, under the control of the Bishop and his Archdeacon. But, as Mr. Wilson justly contends in his very sensible pamphlet, the meeting was *not* a religious meeting in the sense here intended. It was purely a charitable and secular meeting for raising a fund to assist a benevolent institution in London, whose proceedings had no reference whatever to the diocese of Bath and Wells, or to any other; but only to heathens in foreign lands. The society pretends to no ecclesiastical commission or character; it is not a society of clergymen; it takes no oath of canonical obedience. By its designation of a "Church of England Missionary Society," it only points out the nature of its objects, and the discipline to which it voluntarily submits. It indicates that its friends are churchmen, and that they conduct their proceedings in conformity with the doctrines and the usages of the Church; but not that they are legally under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or in any way to be controlled by authority, except so far as authority by obtaining, in the usual way, a suitable right to vote in the affairs of the society, might fairly and naturally regulate its proceedings. This is exactly the state of things in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, &c.; and we are convinced that the voice of a dignitary of the Church would ever have great and due influence upon the conduct of the Church Missionary Institution. But this is a voluntary submission, not a legal jurisdiction. It cannot be expected that those who refuse to contribute to its funds, or patronize its measures, should be entitled, however dignified their station, to enter their protest on its books. As a matter of courtesy and respect, we are convinced that the society would readily listen to the remarks of Archdeacon Thomas, or of any gentleman of respectability, either civil or ecclesiastical; but it is quite another affair for such an individual to claim officially that to which he has no title, except on the ground of the *voluntary* submission of the society, or of his being a member, and therefore entitled to a vote. Let the Archdeacon try whether his interference will be tolerated by the Society for Propagating the Gospel, which he liberally and almost exclusively praises, but in which it does not appear that he has ever thought it necessary to acquire a right of voting by affording his pecuniary assistance.

Whence then, in fact, did the Archdeacon derive his claim to enter his protest? Was it that the meeting was illegally held? This, if it had been the case, was not *his* affair, but that of the

civil magistrate. But the *contrary* was the case; the civil magistrate expressly sanctioned and authorized the meeting, and might, in fact, have called the Archdeacon to account for so intemperately disturbing its proceedings. Was it then on the ground that the meeting was open for public discussion, that the Archdeacon founded his right to protest? *This* certainly cannot be the case; for the meeting was expressly convened for *the friends* and not for the opposers of the society. The use of the Guildhall was for *them*, and for them exclusively. Still we should have waved this part of the argument, and we doubt not the meeting would have done so also, in favour of any gentleman who should fairly and temperately have discussed the proceedings of the society. Had the Archdeacon, as an individual of station and influence in the place, requested to have been heard, though not exactly coming under the description of a person convened by the advertisement, we should have thought that propriety, though not justice, required his being heard with attention. Yet even in this case irritating invectives would have justly precluded his being heard. Coming as an enemy among friends, nothing but courtesy could have required an attention to his remarks; and the moment he offended against courtesy himself, he could not fairly demand it in others.

But in the case before us the Archdeacon approaches the meeting not on the ground of sufferance, but of right. This quite alters the complexion of the business. The meeting might have justly said, "We are willing to hear you as a gentleman of respectable office and station in the city and diocese; but we by no means admit your *claim* to be heard." In numerous cases concessions are made *as* concessions, which would not be made if demanded as rights. We are, therefore, only surprised that the reverend Archdeacon met with so patient and attentive an audience; for such this assembly appears to have been till the personal attack on the Right Reverend Chairman naturally roused those feelings of indignation which every enemy to ecclesiastical intolerance could not but feel on such an occasion.

But really we are ashamed to argue thus at length upon so plain a fact as that the Archdeacon had no right whatever to interfere with the Church Missionary Meeting. We have reason to know that his conduct has not met with that applause which he perhaps expected among his superiors in the Church. Some of his own archidiaconal brethren also do not scruple to censure his proceeding, and to smile at the new powers with which he seems inclined to invest their order. In fact, his own procedure shews that he was conscious of having no prerogative to interfere: for if he were legally invested with the authority he pretends to

claim, a penalty must attach to the obstruction of his office. He professes to have been "hooted, hissed, and insulted;" why, then, for the good of the community and the dignity of his function, does he not bring the offenders to condign punishment? Had he been thus insulted in the discharge of a proper archidiaconal duty, can any man imagine that the aggressor would have been suffered to escape either ecclesiastical or civil punishment? But, in the present case, Mr. Thomas was clearly beyond the protection of his office; and he felt that if opposed or obstructed in the discharge of his self-conferred functions he had no legal redress. Indeed, as we before remarked, the whole assumption is too ridiculous for grave argument. He had, it seems, an official authority—to do what? *to protest!!* In what record of law or divinity did he discover this new power of an archdeacon? If he had any power at all, it was to cite, and try, and examine; and then in due form to suspend, correct, enjoin penance, excommunicate, &c. He could not legally stir a step without regular libel, pleadings, and proof. The mode employed by Archdeacon Thomas is not a legal or accredited mode of exercising any authority or jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical, known in these kingdoms. The nearest case we can imagine is the right of a peer to protest against a measure that passes the House of Lords without his concurrence. But here the very circumstance of protesting is an acknowledgment that the majority had *a right* to act without such concurrence,—and so far the parallel applies to the Archdeacon and the society. The cases, however, differ in this, that the one being a legal right of protest, any individual or society that should obstruct that right would incur penalties proportionate to their offence; while in the other the very circumstance of the Archdeacon's being obliged to overlook the obstruction sufficiently proves his conviction that his pretended *right* was but an invention necessary for his immediate purpose, and such as he knew could not be maintained either in equity or law.

Now if this view of the subject be substantially correct, words can scarcely be too strong to characterize the impropriety of the Archdeacon's conduct. We see in it nothing comporting with either the dignity, the wisdom, or the Christian benevolence and moderation of character becoming his high station, as an officer of rank in a church the very opposite of intolerant, and whose interests can in no way be so much injured as by these ill-timed usurpations of her professed friends. Can we wonder that evil principled men are so often able to mislead their fellow-countrymen respecting the character of the Church of England, when they can point to instances like this of conduct on the part of some of her

avowed friends as hostile to our civil freedom as to the rights of conscience and the interests of religion? Can we wonder that the Church has enemies, if as soon as any scheme of Christian benevolence springs up, some dignitary starts from his couch to level a charge, a pamphlet, a visitation sermon, or "a protest," at its devoted head? Is it a subject for surprise,—however much it may be so for grief and humiliation,—that a large part of the community are jealous of the Church, when they thus perceive churchmen interfering with the rights of private conscience, and attempting to reduce a reading, a thinking, an intelligent population to the blind bigotry and unsuspecting submission of the Church of Rome? If the clergy of a country see fit to retain all the prejudices of centuries that are past, while their fellow-countrymen are rapidly advancing in liberty and self-respect; if they continue to oppose what the unbiassed part of the nation at large see to be good, and benevolent, and honourable; the period cannot be very far distant when either a compromise must be made between the contending parties, or one of them must hasten to its downfal. Which of these events is the more probable we leave our readers to divine. For ourselves we think there can be no doubt of the issue, when a few men like our much-mistaken Archdeacon are opposed to all the intelligence and moral liberality of the nation at large. If there be any thing which Englishmen have an innate and unconquerable propensity to resist, it is an overbearing and dictatorial spirit; and in proportion as such a spirit is suffered to insinuate itself into the breasts of our clergy, will the Church of England feel reason to tremble for her safety.

And in what, after all, we would ask, is the veneration of Archdeacon Thomas for the Church of England so greatly evinced? Is it in insulting a superior in that Church to his very face? It has never fallen to our lot to meet with so direct and personal an attack on that sacred order, on the part of a clergyman, as in this angry protest. He accuses the society of pursuing a course tending to "the subversion of ecclesiastical order," and "of promoting and augmenting divisions;" and, *as a proof of his position*, appeals to the fact of the presence of the Bishop of Gloucester at that meeting. He charges his Lordship with violating, not only "apostolical authority," but "common propriety" in thus "invading" the province of another, and "thrusting his sickle into another man's harvest." Nay, he even insinuates that the Bishop had acted craftily and clandestinely, rather than in a fair and manly manner, in the conduct he had pursued. "Perhaps," exclaims the Archdeacon, "he thought the husbandman asleep! I trust he will find us waking and watchful. If his Lordship did know the sentiments of his venerable diocesan AS WELL AS MINE (!!) I ask, I say, if his

Lordship did know the sentiments of his venerable diocesan AS WELL AS MINE, could he give a more decisive proof of his indifference to the dignity of the high office to which he has been but a few years consecrated, as well as of his contempt of ecclesiastical order?"

Now if we were expressly called upon to give a proof of the Bishop of Gloucester's qualification for his high office, we know not that we could name a stronger fact than that he bore this unclerical and insulting language with a patience and forbearance worthy of the high cause which it has ever been his desire and his practice to advocate and adorn. He did not recriminate, as there was abundant opportunity for doing, but contented himself with restraining those expressions of indignation which naturally burst from a popular auditory on such an occasion, and securing for the Archdeacon a patient hearing to the close of his invective. We agree with the committee of the Bath Society, that "such patience and calmness, under such circumstances, could be derived only from One Source." What that source was, those who know the calm and humble faith, and virtuous and holy life of that justly venerated Prelate, will not be at a loss to conjecture.

Still, however, the matter of ecclesiastical discipline, as far as concerns his Lordship, remains to be considered. It might be very true that the Bishop of Gloucester conducted himself in a proper and Christian manner in the chair of this assembly, and be also true that the Archdeacon of Bath had no right to interfere with the proceedings, and yet by no means be true that his Lordship acted regularly or wisely in *accepting* the chair, however wisely and moderately he might fill it. The irregularity and harsh procedure of Archdeacon Thomas would not justify the irregularity of the Bishop of Gloucester and Dean of Wells.

We are happy therefore to discover, upon a mature examination of the evidence before us, that the Right Reverend Prelate was by no means chargeable with a violation of discipline on this occasion. As one of the vice-patrons of the parent society, and as a friend to every scheme for diffusing the blessings of pure and undefiled religion, the Bishop of Gloucester was naturally invited to preside at the formation of the Bath Association. His dignity in the Church, his high ecclesiastical rank in the county as Dean of Wells, his proximity as Bishop of Gloucester, and his general character, and justly deserved popularity in the neighbourhood, seemed to render this mark of respect and attention due to his Lordship. He was also requested to preach a charity-sermon for the institution; and this being a regularly ecclesiastical matter, he referred it to his Right Reverend Brother, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, *and obtained permission;* the other ap-

plication to him he also *mentioned*, and no disapprobation whatever was expressed. The Bishop of Gloucester has permitted it to be publicly stated, that "he had not the least reason to suppose that in taking those steps, he was acting in a manner disrespectful or displeasing to his Lordship, the introduction of whose name, as protesting against the meeting, is fully believed by the Bishop of Gloucester to have been entirely unauthorized and unjustifiable." It is unnecessary to say, that the Bishop of Bath and Wells has not in any way intimated that there was any mistake in this statement.

So much for the matter of courtesy. As for the matter of *right*, we think there can be no dispute among men of common sense and information. Are not meetings constantly held in London and other places, in which bishops and other dignitaries are present without giving or meaning to give umbrage to the diocesan? May not the Bishop of Exeter, in Connaught-place, bestow his guinea for a school in the parish of Paddington, without first paying a morning call at Fulham to ask permission? If the Bishop of Gloucester was acting uncanonically, why did not the Archdeacon cite him to his tribunal; instead of thus censuring him unaccused and unheard. But after all, if, as the Archdeacon tells us, it is a matter of ecclesiastical discipline, it must depend upon the canons of the Church; and what canon applies to the subject? Does any canon forbid the sending out missionaries, or the formation of a society for that purpose? Does any canon require the presence or even sanction of the ordinary for the formation of such a society? Let us put a very possible case, that a bishop of London was not a member of the Society for Propagating the Gospel, or of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; must no bishop, in such a case, venture to attend the meetings of such institutions, because held in the diocese of a non-approving brother? Must the office in Bartlett's-buildings be immediately shut up, and would the Archdeacon of London be legally authorized to disperse any meeting of such societies that happened to be held without his concurrence? Under the *very same* circumstances, the Church Missionary Society now stands. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has no more legal authority to plead than itself; whatever is lawful to the one is lawful to the other; no canon is violated by either. Had the Bishop of Gloucester infringed some episcopal privilege; had he instituted, or ordained, or collated, or held a confirmation or visitation, there would indeed have been just ground of censure. Yet even then the archdeacon would not have necessarily had the power to interfere; or, if he had, he could not have legally exercised it in the manner employed by Mr. Thomas; and much

less could he have been justified in thus "rebuking an elder," instead of "entreating him as a father." If the Archdeacon intended to interfere, why did he not remonstrate with his Lordship in private? why did he not announce his intention? in short, why did he not take any step rather than thus violate all right and usage, and attack the episcopal dignity itself in the person of one of its most valued and exemplary supporters? We cannot but believe, that, had Mr. Thomas proved to the Bishop of Gloucester that his presiding at the meeting was really contrary to the wishes of the diocesan (a circumstance, however, that is not and cannot be proved), he would cheerfully, whatever might have been his private wishes or opinion, have waved his *right* and his inclination from regard to his Right Reverend Brother, and for the sake of that peace and unity which Mr. Thomas's conduct has so grievously disturbed. As a man, a British subject, and a local resident of rank in the neighbourhood, it was his privilege,—and with his views of the society, we may add, his *duty* to attend; but, from the well-known character of his Lordship, we cannot doubt that he would have made any sacrifice consistent with his conscience, rather than occasion should have been taken, by "those who desire occasion," to wound genuine piety wherever it is found, through the sides of our Bible and missionary institutions. These circumstances throw a double weight of responsibility on the Archdeacon, for thus unexpectedly disturbing that peace which (without at all relinquishing his object) he might easily have preserved. Indeed, whatever allowance may be made for honest zeal and a sense of duty towards what he supposed to be a good cause, we cannot but agree with Mr. Wilson, that, "when the act to which zeal and duty impel men, is itself that of protesting against intemperate zeal and a mistaken sense of duty in others; when a censor stands up specifically to point out the distinction between a well-informed and an ignorant piety; when such a censor is invested with an office of respectability in the Church, and his denunciations derive weight from his public station; and, above all, when such a person comes forward to deliver an address composed in the calmness of the closet, and therefore with every advantage of previous deliberation; it is plain that we have a right to expect more than common caution and reserve, a mind well-informed on his subject, and arguments sound and perspicuous in support of his assertions." How greatly Archdeacon Thomas failed in all these particulars we have already seen.

Having thus dismissed the more local and technical part of the controversy, and reserving the particular merits of the Church Missionary Society for our concluding remarks, we arrive at the most interesting and important point of the discussion; we mean

the general question relative to the propriety and duty of promoting Christian missions. We will not however trouble our readers with much discussion on a subject like this; for if there be any duty more obvious than another, it is surely that of promoting true religion, with all its holy and felicitating results, to the utmost extent of our ability and opportunities. We cannot conceive of any man as a true Christian who feels no desire to see the religion of Christ universally diffused and obeyed. If Christianity be really what it professes to be; if it be a revelation from the Almighty, bringing, amidst the moral darkness and dreariness of the world, life and immortality to light;—if it be the beam that is destined to cheer the barren tracts of idolatry and superstition; if it be the harbinger and promoter of peace and love, and beatitude and joy;—if to nations as well as to individuals it is the best and only true source of order, and prosperity and repose; if it elevate and refine life, sooth and cheer the pillow of death, open the portals of eternity, bring heaven to earth, and point from earth to heaven; if without it we can have no hope either here or hereafter, and with it are rendered "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the kingdom of heaven;"—it surely cannot be doubtful whether to promote its extension throughout the world be a part of a Christian's duty.

Indeed we conceive that this point is at length very generally conceded; for though we perceive in some of the pamphlets before us, as well as in other quarters, a sort of half-suppressed scepticism on the subject, we have not of late found a writer professing Christianity who has ventured openly and explicitly to deny the obligation. Cicero tells us that there are some things, such as fire and water, which, being the free gifts of nature, are not to be denied to any man, even a stranger. Had Cicero been acquainted with the blessings of revelation, he might have added that there was *one* gift from the God of nature, which not only we have no right to deny, but which we are bound actively to communicate. We are not ignorant of the grounds upon which opposition to Christian missions, generally speaking, is founded; but we think that whatever varying aspects those objections may assume, scepticism, either latent or avowed, is at the root of the evil. Practical deism is but too commonly the creed of professed Christians; and where this is the case, can it be surprising, that missionary exertions fail to be viewed in all their interest or importance?

We are not therefore surprised, though we are certainly grieved and ashamed, to see efforts to convert the heathen often treated with obloquy or contempt. We know that it is perfectly easy to identify things that have no necessary connexion, such as zeal and hypocrisy, religion and fanaticism. We know that it is

not difficult to raise a laugh or a sneer at the expense of all that is most sacred and dignified. It requires but a small portion of skill to expose both the missionary and his office to ridicule. But, after all, we agree with Mr. Wilson, that "there treads not on this earth a man so truly magnanimous as the faithful missionary." His magnanimity is the greater because he has not that which is the support of all other magnanimity—the applause of man. He is great without human encouragement; he bears up, not only against the peculiar dangers of his arduous office, but against the sneers and odium of the world.

We believe, however, that the great ostensible objection made to missionary exertions is that they are unavailing. But if the public avidity to promote such plans were as strong as from the excellence of the object it ought to be, an objection of this kind would have little weight, because a comparatively small portion of success would in this case appear of sufficient importance to balance very many instances of failure. But where there exists scepticism, either as to the real value of the Gospel, or its necessity for the heathen, we cannot be surprised that the results of missionary establishments are not usually such as to silence the objections of individuals thus disposed. It is true that he who doubts the absolute necessity of the Christian dispensation for the salvation of man, may yet be well-disposed to the diffusion of the Gospel on various subordinate accounts. But in such cases the best and greatest stimulus is wanting, and consequently there will be little inducement or inclination to bear up against the difficulties and reproaches attendant upon missionary undertakings. The blessings bestowed, though allowed to be blessings, will not appear to compensate for the risk and labour and expense. The question will consequently be reiterated, "what have missionaries done, or what can they do, to counterbalance the labour and expense, or to stimulate the public to new and increased exertions?" Now to any but men of deeply religious character no satisfactory answer can perhaps be given to this question. It will not appear much to a sceptic in religion that many individuals, or even whole nations, have been brought to the obedience of the faith; because, never feeling the practical value of the Gospel himself, in its high dignity, as "the power of God unto salvation unto every one that believeth," he cannot imagine that *much* good, or any good but of a subordinate kind, is effected even when the missionary is most successful. But to the sincere and earnest believer even a comparatively small measure of success will appear highly important; for he will measure the value of that success by his lofty estimate of the boon of salvation, and the worth of the immortal soul.

Yet even to those who will not take up the cause of missions

on its proper and most elevated ground, there are doubtless many inducements from the moral and political benefits attendant upon Christianity, even irrespectively of its higher bearings upon the eternal destinies of the human race. And even on this lower ground we think there is no reason to despair: for have not the various nations who have embraced the Gospel been indebted more or less to missionary exertions; and consequently are not all the moral and political advantages which they have derived from Christianity;—and which it will be allowed by every benevolent mind to be worth some sacrifices to extend to the heathen,—arguments enough for perpetuating those means of benefit to which we ourselves are so greatly indebted? Even while we are writing, accounts have just arrived of the effect of missionary efforts under circumstances of considerable depression. The mission to the South Sea Islands was undertaken some twenty years ago, by a society constituted on a plan to which we have many objections, and which as churchmen, we cannot for a moment compare, with that which has been the immediate occasion of the present controversy. The mission also was far from being conducted at first with the wisdom and prudence which such a work demanded, and for a long time it seemed attended with a total defeat. Yet accounts have now arrived that both in Otaheite and Eimeo, the more immediate scenes of exertion, idolatry is wholly abolished, education is rapidly spreading in these and the neighbouring islands, and the Christian sabbath is recognized and revered. Many hundreds of the natives can read well, and repeat the catechism with propriety and accuracy. Human sacrifices and infant murder are forbidden; the gods are dethroned; the *maraes* are demolished, and places for Christian worship are every where rising in their stead. Pomarre, the King of Otaheite and its dependencies, has sent a letter to the missionaries couched in terms which would do honour to the piety of an European Christian. He has dispatched all his family gods to London, "that the people of Europe may see what foolish gods his nation used to worship."

Now this is but one instance among many of the success of missionary exertions, even when conducted on a plan which may not in theory be absolutely the wisest and best. Why then, even setting aside, what however never *ought* to be set aside, the superintendence of Divine Providence and the moral government of the Almighty, should we despair of the success of Christian endeavours to convert the heathen, who certainly present no obstacles to their reception of the Gospel which were not to be found in the case of our own forefathers and the other nations of Christendom? When to the numerous and encouraging examples that might be adduced of success, we add the

infinite importance of Christianity, which makes even the most difficult experiment worthy of trial, and the power and promise of Him who can crown the most hopeless prospect with success, we think there can remain no doubt, generally speaking, of the duty and importance of missionary labours. Indeed that duty rests upon the express command of our Lord himself to his disciples, a command which has never been rescinded, and which applies doubtless to the church of Christ in every age, 'Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature.'

The indifferenee that has for ages existed relative to a subject so deeply felt and so zealously acted upon in the early periods of the Gospel has been one of the greatest stains on the modern Christian church. For centuries past the propagation of Christianity has borne nothing like a due proportion to the effects produced in those days when the present nations of Europe were first converted to the faith, at least it has borne nothing like a due proportion to the increased means of intercourse and the consequent facilities for diffusing the blessings of civilization and religion. Three fourths of the vast population of the world are estimated to remain still destitute of Christianity; a circumstance which could not possibly have been the case had not a most culpable indifference existed in the modern churches of Europe relative to the promotion of religion among the heathen.

To come still closer home; when we reflect upon the rank and influence of Great Britain among the society of nations, when we consider her riches, her spirit of enterprise, her universal commerce, and her numerous colonies and dependencies, we cannot but acknowledge that, if the propagation of Christianity among the heathen be in any case a duty, it is one *peculiarly* incumbent on this eminently favoured nation, and one for the neglect of which we shall, in the usual course of the moral government of the Almighty, have most seriously to account. And yet what has Great Britain done? She has done just enough to show that she acknowledges the duty, and to confess her responsibility, without doing enough to discharge it. To take but one instance among many that might be adduced, what has England done for the sixty or seventy millions of souls added to her population by the rapid and extensive accessions of territory in the East? Where has been the exhibition of that ardent and enlightened zeal which became so wise, so moral, so magnanimous a people; a people proud, almost to a fault, of their own far-famed constitution, and jealous, almost to exclusion, for the religion of their forefathers. If we except the justly-valued exertions of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, little or nothing has been done till very recently for the vast empire of India with a view to the conversion of the natives.

Indeed our own fellow Christians in India have had almost as much to complain of respecting the mother country as our heathen and Mohammedan subjects; and even now, with the present limited ecclesiastical establishment in that country, the natives must still be almost wholly at the mercy of missionary benevolence and gratuitous exertion. The Church of Rome, with all her faults, did not fail both to fix suitable religious establishments in all the colonies of Catholic states, and to dispatch in every direction missionaries for the instruction of the heathen. It is perfectly true that a restless, dictatorial, proselyting spirit, is an inherent part of the constitution of that Church; and it is equally true that the Romish missions were often notoriously disgraced, not only by the various corruptions of their Church itself, but also by frauds and artifices, and by a spirit of pride, of avarice, of secularity, and of ambition. Yet, notwithstanding these and numerous other drawbacks, the conduct of the Church of Rome relative to missions, furnishes, if not an example for our imitation, at least an appeal to our shame, and an argument for our exertion.

Now we think that if it has been sufficiently proved, in a general point of view, that attempts to diffuse the Gospel among the heathen are eminently laudable and desirable; and if further it has appeared that Protestant communities, and especially the people of Great Britain, are bound to exert their efforts for that purpose, it will not be denied that the Established Church of these realms is still more particularly included within the limits of the obligation. For, to say nothing of her strength, her power, her wealth, her patronage, which render her peculiarly adapted to carry into effect great moral undertakings; her apostolic purity of doctrine, and her unrivalled code of discipline (would to heaven that code were more *practically* efficient!) render her the best model for imitation, and the most likely instrument to effect the conversion of the heathen. "It hath been the wisdom of the Church of England," remark the compilers of the Book of Common Prayer, "to keep the mean between two extremes;" a circumstance which renders that Church the most proper agent in the erection of Christian societies throughout the world. The heathen, who usually look for ceremonies, and are unable to fix their roving speculations without some external forms of devotion to concentre their ideas, will find here a refuge from the baldness of the Genevese model without being seduced into the cold formality and mere *opus operatum* of the Church of Rome. In the East particularly, and still more among converts from Mohammedanism, the decent rites and observances of the Church of England have been found eminently useful in fixing the attachment and regulating the conduct of her newly-adopted children.

Our chief reason for taking this line of argument is, that missionary efforts are by some unknown or undefined association of ideas too often connected in the public mind with the cause of dissent. We are at a loss to account for this fact, unless by acknowledging another, which we should be very sorry to think true, namely, that dissent has hitherto been more active than orthodoxy in this excellent cause. We have seen that there is nothing in the nature of things to render dissenting missions more useful or popular among the heathen than our own. And if precedence be a claim, the Church of England, by means of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for Propagating the Gospel, was worthily (though not adequately) labouring in this cause long before our seceding communities were aroused to exertion. Missions, as far as this country is concerned, began and continued many years in the Church; in the Church, therefore, ought they to flourish and increase.

We shall not revert to the causes which may have rendered such exertions unpopular among us, or to the reasons why the Church has not roused herself to the occasion. We cannot, however, but smile at the curious reason assigned by the "Reply," and the "Free Thoughts," the pamphlets placed No. 4 and No. 7 on our list at the head of this article; namely, that the orthodox clergy have had so much to do in opposing dissenters on the one hand, and their evangelical brethren, so called, on the other, that they really have not been able to attend as might otherwise have been desirable, to the wants of the heathen. Both these authors appear to consider our domestic differences as an almost insuperable bar to missionary exertions. "It does not seem," exclaims the Reply, "any part of prudence or of piety to set about the propagation of Christianity in heathen countries, until we are better agreed among each other what Christianity is.... Broken as we are into a thousand different professions .... the less we stir from home to expose our inconsistencies, and to obtrude our presumptions, the better." "The wisdom, and perhaps the humanity of the Church of England, may at present be best evinced by abstaining, beyond the sphere she has already chalked out, from missionary associations altogether." Now if this argument have any weight at all, it has more than the author intended; for it will apply quite as much to those missions already so wisely "chalked out" as to any other; for if half a dozen or half a score can be conducted under such circumstances without offence, why may not half a hundred also? But in fact the argument has no weight whatever, because the reason assigned for the inertness of the Church is not the true

cause, but only one invented for the occasion. The *real* cause has evidently been indifference, scepticism, and carelessness, want of moral susceptibility or religious feeling, which, in proportion as they have prevailed, have necessarily paralized exertion, and rendered the spiritual wants of the heathen a subject of little anxiety or interest. The cause which the "Reply" assigns would rather have operated the other way. Rivalry would have stimulated to exertion, as we find to be particularly the case in the two elder Church societies; which, after slumbering in comparative quiescence for half a century, have been excited by the vigorous efforts of their neighbours to exertions of zeal and benevolence, which we are as happy to witness as ready to commend.

The "Free Thoughts," carrying the argument of the "Reply" still further, ventures gravely to point out the "astonishment of the heathen who have been taught the principles of Christianity through the medium of the elder societies, when informed through the channel of some other 'Church Missionary Society' that they have never heard the Gospel, that the majority of Church of England ministers do not preach the Gospel, that what they have heard of Christian virtue, piety, and morality, is only dung and dross, &c." Do gentlemen in England really think—we put it as a case of conscience—that the agents of the Church Missionary Society, or indeed of any society whatever, not excepting the most hostile of the dissenters, go forth to the heathen with a tale like this; and that instead of teaching men to love and fear God, and keep his commandments, and repose by faith in a Redeemer, and bring forth fruits meet for repentance, they sit down to entertain a circle of heathen auditors with the disputes of rival sects in Christendom? Is there not room enough in this world of vice and ignorance for a thousand, instead of two or three societies, to exert themselves for the benefit of the universal family of man, without "falling out by the way," or intruding upon each other's sphere of exertion. When the contest is not between brother and brother, but between light and darkness, life and death, heaven and hell, minor differences are soon forgotten, or at least will not be suffered to disturb the harmony of co-operation in the great design. In point of fact, the members of one missionary station among the heathen are almost always ready to hail those members of another as brethren whom perhaps in the streets of a Christian parish they might be ready to quarrel with as seceders or schismatics. If any thing could excite "the astonishment of the heathen," who have been instructed by the teachers of the Church Missionary Society, and who from that source have learned to live, and hope to die, in the faith, and fear, and love of the Redeemer, it would be that

any gentleman in Europe should indulge in such "Free Thoughts" as to suppose his neighbour guilty of the absurdity and weakness of which these missionaries are here accused.

Thus we have arrived at the last topic of the present discussion, namely, the general merits of that society which is the immediate subject of controversy in the tracts before us. The objections urged against it by Archdeacon Thomas, and reiterated by several of the above-mentioned pamphlets, are—1. That it was originally unnecessary; and, 2. That it is improperly conducted. We will endeavour, without fatiguing our readers, to touch upon each of these points; premising that, although our remarks have perhaps assumed, and may possibly continue to assume, something of the appearance of partiality to the society, we have no bias beyond what we think it our duty to cherish for every laudable institution according to its proportion of excellence. We will defend the cause of every valuable institution that happens to be assailed either by ignorance or malevolence, by mistaken piety or intemperate zeal. It is so much the fashion to abuse on the one hand and to panegyrise on the other our religious charitable institutions, that we really take some credit to ourselves for venturing as far as possible, without party spirit, to give that sober and unexaggerated estimate of their merits and defects, which is more likely to serve the interests of truth, than to gratify either the enemies or the friends of such institutions.

The first leading argument, then, against the Church Missionary Society is that it was originally unnecessary. This argument, as far as it may be grounded on the general principle that *all* attempts for the conversion of the heathen are unnecessary, has been already answered. The Archdeacon of Bath's objection is more specific; namely, that there already existed a justly-revered institution, the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts, which was fully adequate to answer every purpose of a missionary establishment. Now if this society had been equal to all the demands on its funds and exertions, the argument would have had considerable weight: but the fact is, that both the constitution and the operations of the society disqualify it for the purposes of a general Church missionary institution. It was incorporated by William III. for the benefit of our colonies, and not for the conversion of the heathen, strictly so called. Its chief scene of action has been North America. There is a dispute between several of our authors relative to the real powers of this society, and the nature of its charter; but whether these be greater or less, whether the society can or cannot, by its constitution, direct its attention to the heathen at large, is of comparatively little importance in the present question. The plain undeniable fact is, that whatever its

charter might allow, its funds and its efficiency have hitherto been very contracted. The society has not at this moment, and never had, we believe, a single English clergyman engaged as a missionary among the heathen. Its funds last year were little more than 1000*l.*; so that, even had it fully awakened from its centennial slumber, its exertions must necessarily have been very confined and most inadequate to the wants of the heathen world. But it had neither, by its constitution, nor by the mode of its management, the power to do the extensive good which a society formed expressly and solely for the purpose of missions would be enabled to effect. What it did not do, or could not do, the Church Missionary Society has begun to achieve; and we are not sorry, in one respect, that the present controversy has arisen, since we doubt not that *both* societies will be benefited by the circumstance. That the elder society will be benefited, we augur from the happy effects produced by the Bible Society controversy upon the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the exertions, and funds, and beneficial effects of which soon became extended in an unprecedented and surprising degree. We have understood that a similar effect has even already begun to be produced by this new controversy; and that the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts is awakened to a degree of life and activity that bids fair to excite the nation at large to a sense of the high duty and importance of missionary exertion. At a most respectable and dignified meeting of the two archbishops, several bishops, noblemen, &c. 5000*l.* have been just voted for the purpose of missionary exertions; and a deputation has been appointed to wait on the Prince Regent, with the hopes of obtaining a mandate for collecting subscriptions throughout the kingdom to further the object.* We have, therefore, no doubt that much will at length be done in a cause most worthy of the exertions of a Christian nation, and to which nothing would perhaps have fully aroused the public but some such explosion as that which the pamphlets before us record. We rejoice to find that much good is likely to be thus educed from evil; and far from thinking that there are *too many* societies, we could rather wish that there were one for every quarter or province of the globe than that the heathen should much longer remain unacquainted with the truths and the blessings of our holy religion. While more than half a thousand millions of human beings, gifted like ourselves with reason, and formed for immortality, remain unacquainted with that dispensation which is the only source of

* We were pleased to find that the amiable and much venerated Prelate whose cause we have felt it our duty to defend in the former part of this review, has been requested by this dignified meeting, with the Right Reverend the Bishop of London, to draw up a suitable address to the public on the subject of extending Christian missions.

true blessedness on earth, or enjoyment beyond the grave, it is really too much to tell us that the Church Missionary Society was useless, merely because another institution was benefiting with its very limited funds a few tracts in more immediate connexion with the British colonies.

But Archdeacon Thomas has still another argument. The society, it is urged, was not only unnecessary, but is positively injurious; it is as little happy in its conduct as in its formation. The Archdeacon particularly objects to its mode of assisting its funds by small donations from the poorer classes of society. He speaks with considerable indignation of collecting pence from children and servants, which he states to be a usual custom with the institution. Now on this part of the subject we are not to be deterred by the ridicule with which it is easy to invest any question, however great or exalted. The details of the most magnificent affairs must often be small and trifling; but it is a very unfair method of procedure to seize upon these little circumstances to prejudice the public against what is substantially of the highest moment. We might equally disparage all thanksgiving to the Almighty, for the daily blessings we enjoy, by descending to such particulars as would throw an air of ridicule over every act of prayer and gratitude. But divesting the collection of small charitable donations of these unfair associations, we think they are not only capable of being defended, but are really worthy of great applause and admiration. In assisting to benefit others, the poor benefit themselves. They learn to become industrious and frugal in their habits, as well as open to the claims of humanity, and anxious to supply the spiritual wants of those who, if not poorer, are at least less enlightened and less favourably circumstanced than themselves. A man in humble circumstances, who can be induced to save a weekly penny for a missionary institution, is both a happier and a nobler being than his thoughtless and hard-hearted neighbour. Far, therefore, from disapproving of this society's accepting and even soliciting the offerings of the younger and poorer classes of society, we think that in proportion as they can infuse by all proper means a spirit of Christian liberality amongst such circles, they are materially benefiting, not the heathen only, but the individuals themselves, as well as their families, their neighbours, and the community at large. We were on these accounts rejoiced to find that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had adopted the plan of receiving the donations of the poor as well as of the rich, or, to use their own language, "of collecting from charitable persons *in every rank of life* such contributions as they can afford, although much below the sum of one guinea." We thought this a mark of the increased wisdom and liberality of the age; we thought it calculated

to create in these subordinate agents of religious charity such a proper degree of self-respect, and such a feeling of their due importance in the scale of being, as would materially tend to raise them above those habits of vice, and indolence, and eagerness to receive parochial relief, which good and wise men have long deplored without knowing how to overcome. We thought also that the society, in adopting such a plan, was imitating Him who did not despise the widow's mite, and to whom the poor man's hard-earned alms are not less acceptable than the more splendid, but not always more sincere, and disinterested efforts of wealthy benevolence. In all this, however, it now appears that we were quite mistaken. There is something it seems insufferably mean, and ignominious, and unworthy of the Established Church, in such methods of recruiting the funds of a benevolent society. We are not anxious to defend either the Church Missionary Society or the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (for the objection, if valid, must we conceive apply equally to both) from a charge of this nature. The Church herself does not disdain such scanty donations; and, as Mr. Wilson remarks, it would be fully as easy to ridicule the briefs which royalty itself does not disdain to issue, and for which the clergy and officers in every parish of the kingdom think it no disparagement to their dignity to collect, as the small weekly or quarterly subscriptions of the Church Missionary Society. Indeed it is inconsistent enough to find clergymen ridiculing this mode of subscription as unworthy of the Church of England, while they make no objection to Easter offerings, which, as Watson tells us, "in many places are by custom *two-pence* from every communicant, and in London *a groat* a house!" The Church in various ways enjoins the clergy to call on the people at large for their "alms and oblations," however small; and St. Paul himself was not ashamed, as Mr. Wilson observes, to "travel" expressly to collect from "the deep poverty" of the Christian churches "the riches of their liberality;" affectionately recommending his associates in this task to the esteem of the church, not only as "the messengers of the churches," but "the glory of Christ."

Now if to receive such offerings, when presented, be not unworthy of the Church, or a Church society, neither can it be improper to excite men to present them. The contribution of small sums from the poor, if not pushed beyond that proper and delicate line which is easy to be discovered in practice, though not very defineable in theory, tends greatly to elicit all the best virtues of the heart, to increase a proper independence of character, and to elevate while it softens the bosom of the donor. The habit of statedly contributing a sum, however small, to a charitable institution, almost necessarily forms the character to habits of order,

punctuality, and economy, as well as of benevolence and disinterestedness. We cannot, therefore, either as political economists, or sincere Christians, or cordial friends to the Church of England, too strongly reprobate that invidious and imperious distinction which Archdeacon Thomas and his admirers seem desirous to establish. The true dignity of the Church of England must consist in the good works and holy lives of her members, collectively considered, without which all her majestic edifices, her ample revenues, her splendid retinue of dignitaries, will not ultimately save her from oblivion and contempt. We indeed readily allow that the system of collecting alms from the poor, and from the younger members of society, may easily be pushed to an improper excess; and that inflammatory appeals may be made to the passions, which cool deliberation cannot justify: we allow, therefore, further, that no small degree of delicacy and propriety is requisite to be observed in the details of such a system; and we cannot too strongly press this point on all our charitable institutions, as well as on the one more immediately in question. But the principle itself—and it is this which Archdeacon Thomas appears not less to attack than the details of management—is so virtuous, so beneficial, so Christian, that we should not have done justice to our feelings or our judgment, had we not thus stepped aside to defend it from unmerited obloquy.

But the principal argument urged both by the Archdeacon and his defenders is, that the Church Missionary Society is composed not of true and orthodox churchmen, but of the members of "a sect," which the Archdeacon denominates in his speech, "serious Christians," and "evangelical ministers." We are fully persuaded that this is the real ground of all the other arguments urged by him against the society. Mr. Wilson, whose "Defence" ably refutes every other objection urged by the Archdeacon, very properly thinks it unnecessary to reply to so vague and desultory a kind of argument, except by asking the decisive questions, whether the doors of the society are not open to *every* churchman who chooses to become a member, and whether there is any thing in any of its rules, which, in the remotest way, contravenes the doctrines or the regulations of the Established Church. The attempt, therefore, to fix the name of "party" on an institution, which, by its very constitution, excludes party, is eminently unfair. The Archdeacon himself, with the whole bench of bishops, and the clergy of the country, are not only welcome to its ranks, but would be gladly hailed as leaders in its concerns. It is surely not very candid for those who decline contributing to its strength themselves, and persuade their friends to imitate their negative example, to complain that it is not composed of such members as they ap-

prove. They make the defect, supposing it to be one, and then turn round and convert it into an argument against the society. The author, for example, of the "Reply" first *takes it for granted*, that the persons who join this society are exclusively of "the evangelical party," and then, equally *taking it for granted* that this supposed party are hostile to the doctrines and discipline of the Church, he arrives, by no very difficult process, at the conclusion, that the society is of an exceptionable kind. This argument wants nothing to its validity *but* the proof of both its major and minor proposition, neither of which the author thinks it necessary to substantiate.

We are not, however, greatly terrified at so ordinary an artifice as this. It may be the misfortune, but it certainly is not the fault of the society, that but two bishops have as yet put their names upon its books. It has, however, reason rather to rejoice at the exalted patronage it has already attained, than to complain that it has not been more universal. The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *sixty* years after its institution, enumerated but fourteen prelates among its friends; and even to this day the Naval and Military Bible Society, though it has the patronage of both of the archbishops, has as yet been joined by but a very small portion of the episcopal bench. The fact is, that bishops and dignitaries, like other men, may be indifferent, or may be indolent, or may have too many ways of disposing of their superfluous resources, to allow of their joining many of our charitable institutions. They may also be suspicious of the intentions or the conduct of any new society, and may defer committing themselves till it has obtained the venerable sanction of experience and prescription. If any person will take the trouble to consult the records of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, he will find that this institution also, like every thing else that is good, met with enemies and opposers; some of whom assailed it on nearly the same grounds as those upon which the Church Missionary Society is at present reprobated by some of the pamphleteers before us. The one has outlived this unhallowed opposition, and we confidently predict the same happy issue to the other.

It is easy for the Archdeacon of Bath, and other gentlemen, who are too much parties in the disputes relative to the Church to see the exact bearing of the question, to exclaim loudly concerning "sects," and "parties," and "evangelical ministers," and "the Church in danger," without being aware of the exact nature of the evils to be remedied, and the restoratives to be applied. Yes, the Church *is* in danger; we cannot open our eyes for an instant without seeing and feeling it; but it is not in danger from the exertions of "the evangelical clergy." It is in danger from

the cold, unmeaning formalism of some of its professed sons; it is in danger from want of churches; from infrequency of service; from the non-residence of the clergy; from the inactivity of many who are resident; from want of attention to catechising; and from the defect of spiritual interest in the welfare of the sick, the poor, and the rising population. The Church is endangered not less by intolerance than laxity; not less by episcopal and archidiaconal and clerical hauteur where they exist, than by the restless energies of nonconformity itself. The Church is endangered when an ecclesiastic seems to consider the souls of men of little importance, compared with the preservation of some point of courteous etiquette. It is endangered when the approbation or temporal favour of an ecclesiastical superior, and a mere secular attention to the rights, privileges, and emoluments of the clerical function, absorb those thoughts which had been better spent in devising and executing plans for the spiritual welfare of mankind. It is endangered when priests descant upon the incompatibility of the interests of our Bible and Missionary Societies with the welfare of the established religion, and when they appear to represent the general interests of Christianity as something subservient to the interests of the Church of England. The dissenters plainly tell us, that they are in no fear for the result when such men as our archdeacon are doing their work for them, by exhibiting a spirit and conduct which, however it might have operated in former ages, cannot in the present century but tend to the utter subversion of all that it professes and intends to preserve. But gentlemen situated like the Archdeacon of Bath do not and cannot know all this without going a little further out of their sphere in search of information than may be always quite convenient or agreeable. While every impartial spectator sees exactly the state of the game, and the tendency of every move, the parties concerned are often totally unacquainted with the plainest facts upon the subject. Who, for instance, will venture candidly to expostulate with the Archdeacon of Bath on his late conduct, and thus risk his immediate favour for the sake of the more remote interests of the Church at large? Men of this stamp are not usually found to haunt either courts or cathedral cities. If they approach and tell their tale, they usually experience the lot of Cassandra, and retire in disgust, leaving superciliousness and intolerance to work their own downfal. Surrounded with some half dozen individuals who think like themselves, and whose interest it is to sooth and flatter them, rather than disclose the unwelcome truth, our dignitaries are too often suffered to slumber away their years in total ignorance of the real state of the public mind, and the consequent necessity of adopting a much more active and self-denying and enlightened

course of policy than that which the Archdeacon of Bath seems inclined to espouse.

With regard to the Church Missionary Society, which has given rise to these extended remarks, we seriously think that a short narrative of its origin and proceedings will be the best apology for its extension.

The original institutors of this society seem to have been fully aware of the existence and operations of the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts; but, observing that the primary and direct object of that institution was the religious benefit of the British colonists, and those heathen nations immediately dependent upon them; and that it had only incidentally, and on peculiar occasions, extended its labours to the pagan world; they imagined, and we think justly, that ample room was left for a Church of England society to be expressly devoted to the benefit of the heathen at large. The excellent spirit in which they commenced their labours will appear from the following extract from the first account of their institution published in the year 1801. If any thing could have deprecated hostility, these candid remarks ought surely to have had that effect.

"Wide is the field," observe the members of the infant institution, "which lies before this society; great is the importance of their object. They require not indeed the pecuniary aid of those who already, to the extent of their power, contribute to the support of other similar institutions; of such persons they regard it the duty to continue undiminished the support they have hitherto given. What they ask of them is their counsels, their good wishes, and their prayers. Let not this society be considered as opposing any that are engaged in the same excellent purpose. The world is an extensive field, and in the church of Christ there is no competition of interests."

The society commenced its labours in the year 1801; being then denominated, "The Society for Missions to Africa and the East, instituted by Members of the Established Church." The choice of this peculiar sphere was suggested by the consideration, that for India this nation was especially concerned, on account of its intimate connexion with that country; and that for Africa, there was the most earnest appeal, both of humanity and justice, in order to repair, as far as possible, the wrongs inflicted upon that devoted continent by the slave-trade, of which Great Britain had possessed so large a share. The society did not, however, *confine* itself to these limits; but expressed its intention of enlarging its plans of usefulness in proportion as due opportunities were afforded.

From its first institution, the society had to contend with difficulties of the most formidable kind. Independently of that positively hostile feeling which it might naturally be anticipated

would arise, in many quarters, to a scheme so new and arduous, there existed in the public mind an ignorance and thoughtlessness on the subject of Christian missions, not less disheartening than hostility itself. The society began, therefore, immediately to collect and circulate information calculated to excite the minds of men to a sense of the general importance of the subject. A valuable missionary library was commenced; which has already become of considerable importance and interest. To correct the common opinion, that Christianity is not absolutely necessary to the heathen, such plain intelligence was widely diffused as cast an awful light on the superstitions and evil practices of pagan lands; and powerfully tended to excite the best wishes and exertions of British Christians in their behalf.

The society appear from the first to have been most anxious to avoid the rocks and shoals upon which many other missionary establishments have split. For this end they instituted the most careful inquiries into every subject relating to the objects of their institution; and have thus embodied in their instructions to their various agents, such practical rules as cannot fail to be of the utmost value, not only to their own society, but to every succeeding missionary establishment. At an early period of their labours, they commenced a wide and enlightened correspondence, with a view both to procure and to impart Christian information. They exerted themselves especially to excite a proper degree of missionary zeal in their fellow-countrymen; yet, at the same time, cautiously regulated their proceedings in the selection and preparation of missionaries, so as to check every appearance of a rash, giddy, and romantic spirit; and especially to prevent such a spirit from being mistaken for genuine Christian benevolence. The happy effects of the wisdom and strict discipline of the society, in the choice and education of its agents, have appeared in their steady character and conduct; which, with the exception of a few partial disappointments in the early years of their labours, have been such as to confer great benefit on the heathen, and great honour on the society itself.

For a considerable time after the establishment of the institution, important difficulties arose, both in discovering suitable spheres of exertion, and in finding proper persons to fill them when they were discovered. The claims of Africa on British philanthropy appeared irresistible; and the colony of Sierra Leone, and its neighbourhood, seemed to furnish an appropriate opening for the commencement of a missionary establishment. The obstacles were, however, very great: the native languages were not understood; the people were uncivilized; and the slave-trade had rendered them jealous of every European that touched upon their shores, and eager for that unlawful traffic, which the

promulgation of Christianity among them could not fail to diminish, and ultimately to supersede. These were difficulties with which even the Apostles themselves had not to contend; for *they* were miraculously endowed with the gift of tongues; and they preached chiefly to nations considerably advanced in civilization, and capable of understanding their message. The society, therefore, under these peculiar and arduous circumstances, wisely applied themselves to cultivate the languages of the native tribes; and, by means of the powerful aid of the press, to prepare the way for future labours. For this end they published grammars, and other introductory works; and this, in some cases, in languages which had never yet been committed to writing; thus conferring no less a benefit upon literature than upon religion itself. The Bible Society not being at this period in existence, they gave assistance to Professor Carlyle's edition of the Arabic Bible, for the use of the numerous countries that employ that language; and had proposed to extend their patronage towards the very important object of printing part of the Scriptures in Chinese; but understanding that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge had this subject before them, they cheerfully resigned it into their hands, confident, as they modestly expressed themselves, "that in consequence of the superior funds, rank, talents, and influence, of many of its members, it might be more completely carried into execution," than by the efforts of their own society.

For a considerable time the committee continued disappointed, as might naturally be expected, in procuring suitable missionaries for western Africa. The climate was proverbially unhealthy; the native languages were unknown; and there appeared none of those favourable indications which were likely to induce English clergymen to forsake the comforts of civilized life, and the enjoyments of Christian society, for so barbarous and ill-fated a spot. Indeed Sierra Leone itself, the centrical point from which the civilizing influences of the whole mission were to flow, and to which the agents employed in it would naturally look for protection and encouragement, had been greatly distracted by internal commotions, and assaulted by the native powers. So great, indeed, was the indifference or irresolution, or love of home, of our clergy, that even for the above-mentioned colony, though the stipend was liberal, and the situation far preferable to a residence among uncivilized heathens, a chaplain had for several years been sought in vain. In default, therefore, of English clergymen, the society of necessity determined to imitate the uniform example of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in importing from Germany that active and self-devoting piety which they could not as yet find in their own Church. The comparative po-

verty of the Lutheran church, as contrasted with the more luxurious habits of England, both created facilities for procuring missionaries, and rendered them, when procured, more fitted to endure the hardships to which they might be exposed. The Society however determined, as consistent churchmen, to allow no lay member of their missionary settlements in any way to exercise the clerical office; but restricted all such persons to the duties of schoolmasters, &c. so as not to infringe upon the discipline of the Established Church. For some years they were indebted for their missionaries to a highly useful and respectable institution at Berlin; the object of which was expressly to educate religious young men in the knowledge of the Scriptures, and of such languages and sciences as might best prepare them for missionary exertions. The Church Missionary Society, duly considering the Christian zeal of these young students, the admirable qualifications of their instructors, and the excellence and economy of the plan laid down for their education, felt it a duty to patronize that establishment; and were abundantly rewarded for their liberality by the assistance thence derived, during many successive years of their labours.

As early as the second year of the society's formation, we find grammars, vocabularies, catechisms, and other initiatory books, printed in the Susoo language. The Susoo nation, being situated in the immediate neighbourhood of the colony of Sierra Leone, seemed to possess especial claims upon the society. The inhabitants were sufficiently civilized to render them capable of instruction; their time being occupied in manual arts, particularly the manufacture of cotton cloth. They usually live in towns and villages, containing from a hundred to two thousand people. The Mohammedan religion, notwithstanding its delusive errors, has done much both here and wherever it has penetrated among the African tribes, to civilize their manners and raise the tone of general feeling. What, therefore, might not be expected among these nations from the dissemination of that infinitely superior and divinely inspired system, which it was the object of this society to diffuse, with the humane, and we might add, the sublime view of reclaiming them from their errors, and "guiding their footsteps into the way of peace?"

Little apparent progress appears to have been made in the operations of the institution during its first five or six years; yet the inquiries and efforts of the committee were far from being fruitless; and if of no other use, they at least contributed to sow that seed which was shortly to ripen into an abundant harvest. In 1804, the Bible Society arose, and, by its well-defined object and ample funds, superseded that part of the labours of the Church Missionary Society which respected the *printing* of the Scrip-

tures; the *translation*, however, of them into new languages, and their *diffusion* in heathen lands, still continued to occupy the labours of the Society, these being among the direct objects of their institution.

At length, in 1804, two missionaries, Mr. Renner and Mr. Hartwig, after due education both in Germany and England, and having received ordination according to the rites of the Lutheran church, embarked for their destination in western Africa. They appear, like most of their successors, to have suffered much from the fevers incidental to the climate. In the beginning of 1806, three other missionaries educated in the academy at Berlin, namely, Messrs. Nyländer, Butscher, and Prasse, embarked from England for Sierra Leone, but were stranded on the coast of Ireland. They afterwards met with various other disappointments; and at length, on their arrival at Madeira, were detained several months in consequence of the death of the captain. Arriving, after numerous disasters, in Africa, we are sorry to say they found their proceedings, as well as those of their predecessors, greatly impeded by the effects of the slave-trade, and the party disputes amongst the neighbouring chiefs.

About this time, the society established a suitable seminary in England, under the care of Mr. Dawes, formerly Governor of Sierra Leone, to which the students might be sent to prepare them for their missionary labours, several clergymen promising to assist in their instruction. This measure appeared afterwards of great importance, as, independently of having the students immediately under the inspection of those who could superintend their conduct, and ascertain their character, a remedy was thus provided against that deficiency of intercourse with Berlin which the political state of the Continent had now occasioned. The committee, however, through the circuitous route which still remained, finding that the Berlin institution had been greatly injured by the French, continued their assistance; while, at the same time, they stretched forth their hand to more distant scenes, remitting considerable sums to India for the translation of the Scriptures into the native languages of that country, under the auspices of various learned men then resident at Fort William.

In 1808, we find Mr. Nyländer benevolently discharging the arduous and important duties of chaplain at Sierra Leone; the colony not having yet been able to procure a suitable person for that office. Mr. Hartwig had been reluctantly discharged from the society's protection, for conduct unbecoming his station. He lived, however, afterwards to repent of his misconduct; and had he survived, there was every reason to imagine that he would have rendered himself again deserving of favour. We therefore,

mention the circumstance chiefly to show the great and exemplary care of the society to render their proceedings free from every just exception.

Inquiries and suitable efforts were still proceeding among the Susoos and Mandingoes; and the affairs of the western African mission were beginning to be in some measure organized, when that great and glorious event for that unhappy country, the abolition of the slave-trade, unsettled for a time the state of that continent, and rendered it necessary to defer the ultimate choice of stations till a further period. The venerable and Rev. Thomas Scott, having by this time undertaken the preparation of the missionary students, a considerable advantage was gained to the society by his great piety, and zeal, and Biblical learning, which he diligently devoted to their service. It was in this year also, that Mr. Marsden first suggested the mission to New Zealand; which, though amongst the best and most auspicious undertakings of the institution, and one on which we should gladly dwell, we shall scarcely notice in the present brief sketch, having incidentally touched upon it, at some length, in another article in our present number.

In 1809, we find two settlements established on the Rio Pongas, namely, Bashia and Fantimania, with the concurrence of some of the head men of the country; who were, however, not a little at a loss to comprehend the motive and meaning of establishments so very different from those to which they had been hitherto accustomed in their intercourse with Europeans, whose only object was the traffic in slaves. The chief design of the missionaries in founding these stations was to receive native children for education, as well as to make excursions in the vicinity, in order to enlighten the inhabitants, and to promote the cultivation of their land, and the ordinary arts of civilized life, in subservience to their great design of introducing the more immediate blessings of religion. We are sorry to say, that while thus employed, they were subjected to the arts and machinations of the slave-traders, who took care to represent them to the natives in the most odious colours; as spies sent out to give information relative to the infraction of the slave-trade enactments. To add to other adverse occurrences, Mr. Prasse died shortly after commencing his labours. New students were, however, taken under the patronage of the society in Europe; Mr. Nyländer continued diligently and usefully employed in baptizing and instructing natives, Maroons, and settlers at Sierra Leone; useful tracts and books were circulated; fresh assistance was given towards translating and distributing the Scriptures in the East; and proper persons were discovered for the intended settlement in New Zealand.

During the progress of these events, the justly lamented Dr. Buchanan arrived from India, with a heart deeply impressed with the inestimable importance of Christianity, and the duty of British Christians to exert themselves for the heathen, whose superstitions he had himself witnessed, and to whose spiritual welfare he had long devoted his valuable life. The information he supplied, and the spirit he excited, were equally useful to the society. His munificent prizes to the members of our Universities necessarily turned the thoughts of no small number of the clergy, and the literary and religious part of the public, to the subject of oriental missions. His well-known narrative of the since unhappy apostate Sabat was eagerly read; as well as his equally interesting account of the Syrian churches in India, which, in the midst of pagan nations, have withstood for many centuries the surrounding contaminations, and, what is scarcely less interesting to a protestant mind, have been equally successful in repelling the restless usurpations of the Church of Rome, adopting but two sacraments, and continuing in a considerable degree that form of doctrine and discipline which they appear to have derived from their supposed founder the Apostle St. Thomas. Dr. Buchanan had the happiness greatly to interest the public in the character and prospects of a Christian missionary. The Rev. Mr. Venn had some years before beautifully described such a character in an address to the society's missionaries.

"A missionary," said he, "is one who, like Enoch, walks with God, and derives from constant communion with him a portion of the Divine likeness. Dead to the usual pursuits of the world, his affections are fixed upon things above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. He is not influenced, therefore, by the love of fame and distinction, the desire of wealth, or the love of ease and self-indulgence. Deeply affected by the sinful and ruined state of mankind, especially of the heathen, he devotes his life, with all its faculties, to promote their salvation. Undaunted by dangers, unmoved by sufferings and pain, he considers not his life dear, so that he may glorify God. With the world under his feet, with heaven in his eye, with the Gospel in his hand, and Christ in his heart, he pleads as an ambassador for God, knowing nothing but Jesus Christ, enjoying nothing but the conversion of sinners, hoping for nothing but the promotion of the kingdom of Christ, and glorying in nothing but in the cross of Christ Jesus, by which he is crucified to the world, and the world to him. Daily studying the Word of Life, and transformed himself more and more into the image which it sets before him, he exhibits it to others, as a light to illuminate the darkness of the world around him, as an exhibition of the light and glory of a purer and higher world above."

This character was now strikingly described by Dr. Buchanan in one single expression, as used by the Hindoos,—"a man

of the *beatitudes;*" and to discover and employ *such* men was the great object of the society.

That their labours were not in vain, the exertions in Africa fully testified. The schools continued to increase, and the missionaries even offered to dedicate a considerable portion of their own hard-earned salaries to maintain and educate native children. Though much persecuted, particularly at Bashia, there were not wanting indications of the estimation which their character had gradually secured. Many little circumstances, for example, of the following kind occur in the narratives of the settlers. Mr. Butscher having been drawn into a dispute respecting the sale of some palm, sent for Fantamani, the chief of the district, who thus addressed the aggressor. "Art thou come to fight my white man, whom I love as much as my head wife. Only touch him, and take the consequences. Here is my dagger; look at it! *Dost thou take him for a slave-trader, who lies, curses, and defrauds? No—such a man he is not; he comes to teach our children, and make us better people; and therefore no person shall molest him;* for I, and Mongè Packe, Mongè Domba, and Mongè Hate, whose son is with him, love him, and will stand by him."

The chief remaining transactions of the society in their tenth year may be briefly enumerated. Two new missionaries, Barneth and Wenzel, arrived in Africa, the former of whom died almost immediately on reaching his station on the Rio Pongas. Mr. Nyländer, who had been constituted chaplain, *pro tempore*, at Sierra Leone, was engaged in projecting a settlement among the Bullom nation, on the shore opposite to Sierra Leone, across the mouth of the river. In the mean time, the usual assistance to Berlin, and a due attention to the education of missionaries, both there and in England, were continued. A knowledge of the art of printing, and of the new system of education, began to be made a part of the instruction given to the future settlers among the heathen; thus furnishing them with two of the most powerful and efficacious instruments which the ingenuity of man has ever discovered for effecting the benevolent designs in which the society was engaged. During this year also, the first settlers embarked for New Zealand with instructions for their conduct, which proved how deeply the society had considered the nature of the plan in which they had embarked. In addition to their directions of a more religious kind with regard to the personal conduct of their agents themselves, who were laymen, such as enforcing due regard to the Sunday, and to family devotion, conversing with the natives, preaching to them, catechising their children, &c.; we find the committee wisely directing them to diligence in agriculture, boat-building, and whatever else might assist and conciliate the inhabitants; advising them further to

render themselves, by their exertions, independent of the natives for a constant stock of food, and never to give or receive presents, but as far as possible to promote traffic, and to teach the natives the rights of property; and especially enjoining them to interfere in none of the native wars and quarrels, but to conduct themselves as became their high character as Christian colonists among the heathen. No regular salaries were proposed to be given to the settlers after they were once established, as it was expected they would be fully able to procure a respectable maintenance by their own labours, thus benefiting themselves in proportion as they benefited the immediate objects of their solicitude.

The events reported at the next anniversary of the society (1811) may also be very briefly detailed. The schools in western Africa had prospered, and were rendered, in some measure, popular among the natives, by affording instruction to their children in the English language, a knowledge of which is of great value and utility in their estimation. At Calcutta, the corresponding committee, in addition to their zealous exertions for printing the Scriptures in the oriental languages, had made a proposal, which the society at home gladly embraced, of appointing Scripture Readers, whose duty would be simply that of reading publicly every day, for certain hours, a portion of the Sacred Writings to all such persons as might think fit to attend. The Mohammedans have long adopted this custom with the Koran without giving any offence to the nations; and the Hindoos also have *poranees* who perform the same office in reading their Shasters. These readers, it appeared, might be procured for a trifling compensation; and several of them might be employed under an European chaplain, or other superintendent. In the mean time the New Zealand missionaries had now arrived at New South Wales; but, on account of the recent massacre of the crew of the Boyd, of which our readers will find the sad details in another part of this number, it had not been judged expedient for them to proceed at present to their destination. They remained, therefore, at New South Wales, where their leisure appears to have turned to sufficiently good account. Poor Duaterra, with whom our readers are already familiar, here first became acquainted with them, and engaged to afford them every possible protection in his native island.

We find the society, in 1812, still deeply lamenting the want of Church of England clergymen as missionaries. A strong appeal had been made to the public the preceding year by the clergyman who preached the society's annual sermon, and considerable attention had been in many ways excited to the subject; but no clergymen had as yet offered their services for this

important office. Two more Lutheran ministers were therefore dispatched to western Africa to fill up the vacancies that had so rapidly occurred by death, as well as to extend the general labours of the mission. The attention of the preceding missionaries having been too much engaged in the mere secular business of the settlements, and particularly in procuring the rice and other provisions necessary for their subsistence, a very judicious plan was about this time adopted of sending out a few laymen of diligence and piety, who should be qualified to maintain themselves by their labours at little expense to the society, while they assisted the general objects of the mission, and eased the clerical labourers of the secular concerns of their establishments.

The Roman Catholic Society, "de propaganda fide," having been subverted by the revolutions on the Continent, and their missions having consequently dwindled away, a favourable opening was now suggested to the society for diffusing Christianity in the Levant and on the shores of the Archipelago. They accordingly stated their willingness to receive two or three zealous young clergymen who could accommodate themselves to the customs of the East, and, in a literary or religious capacity, convey the doctrines of Christianity to countries endeared by every classical and Christian association. The Archbishop of Aleppo assured a correspondent of the society, that a well-qualified missionary in the neighbourhood of his diocese might do as much good as an apostle. The proposal, though not immediately accepted, was afterwards substantially embraced by measures which we shall shortly have to mention.

The East, however strictly so called, now began to engross the largest share of the society's attention. The free and unlimited access which Great Britain had acquired by her arms to all the countries eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, seemed to furnish the noblest theatre ever yet offered to Christian exertions. The missionary who, like those in Africa and New Zealand, devotes himself to the instruction of uncivilized nations, has to encounter the slow and arduous preliminary task of fixing their language, before he can teach them to read therein the works of God. But throughout the East two-thirds perhaps of the human race are already so far civilized as to possess a written language. Into many of these languages the Scriptures were already translated, or were in a course of translation. A young clergyman, master of the Ethiopic, Persian, Arabic, or Syriac, and of the Tamul, Cingalese, Bengalee, Hindostannee, or Malay, might therefore take the Scriptures ready prepared to his hand, and read to millions of his deserted fellow creatures those divine truths which constituted the source of his own hopes and the foundation of all his enjoyments. Important openings for mis-

sionary exertions were also presented in the vicinity of the Persian Gulf and the Red and Arabian Seas; as also in the north-eastern parts of Africa, among the people of Abyssinia, where Christianity early obtained a footing, and is still very generally professed; but where unhappily the surrounding darkness of paganism has for centuries been making rapid inroads, and where even mutilated copies of the Sacred Scriptures are scarcely to be found. Among the Syrian Christians also, in India, a few clergymen of zeal, and prudence, and piety, it was considered, might become of the greatest service to revive and confirm the faith in that interesting but oppressed community. But especially in the island of Ceylon, then under British authority, and containing a million and a half of natives, of whom one-third were considered to be nominally Christians, was afforded an abundant field for exertion. These professed believers were the fruits of that zeal with which the Dutch uniformly planted Christianity, wherever they established their power; and though some of them were thought, for want of sufficient care, to have relapsed into idolatry after the cession of the island to Great Britain, yet from the laudable anxiety of the British resident authorities to extend the blessings of the Gospel, there appeared the fairest opening for the benevolent views of the society. We might advert further to the vast Malayan Archipelago, which, by the conquest of Java, became accessible to British influence, and where the Dutch had not only shown us, by their example, how much was practicable, but had left a platform upon which to begin our operations.

The East became a subject of still greater importance at this moment, from the expected renewal of the Hon. East India Company's charter. The society exerted itself on this occasion, in a manner the most liberal and spirited, yet the most prudent and temperate, to secure facilities for the admission of suitable missionaries into that country, the policy of the East India Company having hitherto thrown considerable difficulties in the way of almost every such attempt. Though the society very properly abstained from every proceeding of an inflammatory or compulsory nature, we have yet no hesitation in affirming that, to the efforts of its friends, and the religious information diffused by their means through the community, as well more immediately in the circle of our Houses of Parliament, we are mainly indebted for the present ecclesiastical establishment in India, as well as in general for very much of the great religious improvement that has taken place in that country, both among the Europeans and the natives.

Thus we arrive at the society's fourteenth year, in which a few circumstances occurred which it may be proper just to notice,

previously to passing on to the succeeding anniversary, which may be considered as forming quite a new era in the annals of the institution. About this time the principle of the division of labour was extensively adopted in the pecuniary arrangements of the society, so as to afford the means of collecting from individuals, who might be disposed to give a small sum, without being able to give a larger, such pecuniary assistance as they had it in their power to bestow. The excellent objects and exertions of the society becoming better known, auxiliary associations now began to spring up on every side, so as even to exceed the anticipations of its most sanguine friends. The agitation of the great question relative to the establishment of Christianity in India, seems to have prepared the minds of conscientious persons in every part of the kingdom to come forward, with a zeal never exhibited before, for the purpose of extending the blessings of religion as far as practicable to the whole world. The most pleasing and unequivocal symptoms of attention to this great subject had become visible in every quarter. The society, however, appear to have felt, what every intelligent person must also feel, and what we have more fully considered in the preceding pages—the great delicacy and caution necessary to be observed in receiving the contributions of the labouring orders, and of the younger members of the community; yet upon a general view of the subject, and guided perhaps by some such reasons as we have stated in an earlier part of this review, and which appear also to have since influenced the venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, they determined, and we think wisely, to pursue the plan that appeared opening before them, though at the same time enjoining on their agents that "prudence and discrimination should be exercised, and that no contributions should be solicited or received from those whose duty it cannot be to give."

The affairs of the society in western Africa were still subject to considerable difficulties, which were greatly aggravated by a war that had arisen between the Foulahs and Susoos. Mr. Butscher, who paid a visit about this time to London, had it in his power to communicate much important information relative to the missionary settlements in that country, and to stimulate the friends of Africa to new exertions. On his return with Mrs. Butscher, and several other settlers in the service of the society, we are sorry to say he was shipwrecked in the River Gambia; a circumstance which very considerably retarded the progress of the mission. The committee appear, however, amidst these accumulated difficulties, to have pursued, with a firmness and humanity that do them great honour, their benevolent designs towards the natives of that much-injured coast. As, however, this part of their proceedings did not fail to incur a considerable share of ani-

madversion, both from the enemies, and even perhaps from some of the friends of the society, it may be proper to adduce, from a sermon preached before them by the Rev. William Dealtry, at their thirteenth anniversary, the following motives for their conduct:

"This society," remarks this eloquent and argumentative clergyman, "having determined with considerate caution, *not to build upon another man's foundation*, not to interfere with the pious exertions of other societies, selected, in the first instance, that portion of the globe to which the finger of God seemed immediately to point the way. The wounds of Africa were still fresh: her injuries were deep and accumulated; and her cry had long ascended up to Heaven. For many ages she had seen her coasts depopulated, her nations barbarized, her children dragged from the land of their nativity to perish on a distant shore, unpitied and unwept. The feet of those who had heard the glad tidings of salvation, and had professedly embraced it, were to be traced upon her plains. But *they* had another errand than to publish peace; it was a march of desolation. The weapons of their warfare were indeed mighty and effectual; but they were chains and slavery. The only character in which the effects of Christianity could be read by the miserable sons of Africa were characters of blood. Their groans, ascending from either side of the ocean, seemed to mingle over the Atlantic, and in notes of deep and solemn import to call for vengeance. What good man did not sympathize with their sorrows, and long to impart to them at least the hopes of a future world, the intelligence of their high origin and future destinies? What reflecting man did not feel his heart chilled with fear, when he turned to those memorials of former days which mark the retributive justice of the Most High, the history of violence repaid by violence, of aggression visited upon the head of the aggressor, of national injustice terminating in national ruin? Could the voice of St. Paul have been heard in that night of legalized oppression, that voice would have told you, I am persuaded, in the first place, to show mercy to Africa."

The year 1814 presented, as we have remarked, a new era in the affairs of the society. Its net income, which was in the preceding year 3000*l.* this year suddenly started to no less a sum than 10,500*l.* The political events of the past year, by which Europe was liberated from her long riven chains, while they animated every British heart, seemed especially to open new and important channels of usefulness to a society whose sole object was the diffusion of that knowledge which was destined to bring "peace on earth and good will to men." The affairs of the institution from this time became too extensive to allow of that regular analysis which we have hitherto attempted. The public appeared to be aroused in some measure to a feeling worthy of the occasion. To the great joy of every Christian and member of the Church of England, an ecclesiastical establishment, after many a hard-

fought battle, in which the tables of the houses of Parliament groaned beneath the weight of petitions from every part of the country, was determined upon for India; and legal sanction was also obtained for the admission of other benevolent persons as missionaries into that country. Various other favourable auspices relative to India began also to dawn upon the society. The aged and venerable Dr. John, senior of the Danish mission at Tranquebar, had projected extensive free-schools for the native children; and had even beyond his power assisted from his own personal funds that plan of truly Christian benevolence. The society, through their corresponding committee at Calcutta, had it in their power to rescue these valuable establishments from approaching ruin, and to appease the anxious cares of this revered missionary, who expired shortly after this period; thus putting the society in immediate possession of a large sphere of usefulness and responsibility. These schools soon contained not less than 800 children to whom the means of Christian instruction were thus unexpectedly extended by the society.

We have already mentioned the plan of employing native Readers in India, the benefits of which soon became very apparent. One convert in particular, originally named Shekh Salih, since baptized by the appellation of Abdool Messeeh (servant of Christ), has been of essential service to the objects of the society in this department of their labours. He was born at Delhi, and was a zealous advocate for the Mohammedan faith; but happening to visit Cawnpore he was much struck by hearing the late Reverend Henry Martyn explain the Ten Commandments to his countrymen, and immediately felt that this Christian instruction was far better than any thing he had yet received. In order to gain further knowledge, he sought employment in Cawnpore, and procured the office of copying Persian writings for Sabat, who was then living with Mr. Martyn; but without disclosing his wishes and intentions. He thus acquired some opportunities of gaining religious information, particularly by inquiring of the native children the substance of the lessons which they had learned in the Christian schools. When Mr. Martyn had finished his Hindostannee translation of the New Testament, it was given to Shekh Salih to bind, who, having seized with avidity this favourable opportunity of acquiring full information from the oracles of truth itself, soon decided in favour of Christianity, but concealed his convictions till Mr. Martyn being about to leave Cawnpore on account of his health, he could no longer refrain, but confessed his change of sentiment, and earnestly desired to be baptized. Mr. Martyn wisely kept him in a state of probation for some time; when being about to leave India (never, alas! to return), he recommended the young con-

vert to the Rev. David Brown of Calcutta, by whom he was solemnly baptized in the Old Church of that city. His zealous services as a Reader have been highly beneficial to his countrymen; and though his share of obloquy and persecution from the natives has been very great, he seems to have sustained it with a fortitude, and patience, and piety, that do the greatest honour to his Christian character. He acts also among his countrymen as a gratuitous physician, expending the larger part of his income in the purchase of medicines; which conduct serves in some measure to counteract the unpopularity which his Christian exertions could not fail to ensure.

In reference further to the East during this year, we shall only notice, that in addition to sending out the Rev. Messrs. Schnarrè and Rhenius, to India, the society destined two missionaries, the Rev. Mr. Norton and the Rev. Mr. Greenwood (English clergymen), for the island of Ceylon, some of the advantages of which station have been already enumerated. Missions to the East had been patronized in the early part of the eighteenth century by illustrious individuals in different states of Europe; and in Great Britain especially they were encouraged both by the Church and state; his Majesty King George the First, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Wake, having addressed letters to the missionaries in Coromandel in the most affectionate and Christian terms. Our readers will have observed that the Church Missionary Society, in dispatching these agents, adopted the wise plan, which the great Author of Christianity himself employed, of sending out his disciples "two and two;" thus affording to each that assistance and counsel which a *solitary* labourer in a heathen land cannot procure, and without which his ardour is but too likely to cool, his resolution to fail, and his whole proceeding to be impeded. The mutual check also thus supplied, and the power afforded in case of the death of one missionary of still keeping up the establishment till another can be procured, are important reasons for adhering, as we perceive the society have for some years almost uniformly done, to the practice suggested by the example of Him who "knew what is in man," and therefore understood how best to guard against the casualties of human affairs and the waverings of the human heart. We might add also in this place that the society in very many cases have seen fit to employ married persons in their service. The benefits arising from this line of procedure need not be mentioned, especially the facilities thereby afforded for the instruction of the younger, and particularly the female, children of the heathen in Christian knowledge, and the domestic arts of European civilization.

Of western Africa during this time we have only to observe,

that Mr. Butscher, and several companions who went out with him as lay missionary settlers, had been wrecked, as before mentioned, off the island of Goree, and that many of the members of the mission died during the year, to the great disappointment and regret both of the society and the friends of Africa at large. The practice of redeeming slave children with a view to educate them in the missionary schools was about this time discontinued, because it seemed to give, though indirectly, a sort of sanction to the slave-trade. Indeed by the vigilance of his Majesty's vessels there were always more than a sufficient number of recaptured children to keep up and extend the school establishments; and his Majesty's government seem to have felt great satisfaction in confiding these unfortunate infants to the care of the society.

The year 1815 witnessed the society still increasing in its unds, its patronage, its local associations, and its general efficiency. To their designs in Africa the government were still favourable, and grants of land, &c. were made for their use within the colony. A separate school fund having been instituted, to which any person, whether approving of the other objects of the society or not, might, by a yearly contribution of *5l.* support, clothe, and educate an African liberated child, to be named after any friend that his benefactor might suggest, a very considerable number of children began to be entered on the books of the society under these conditions. Great disasters, however, attended the African proceedings of the society during this year. Sickness and death continued to make such rapid inroads, that of six persons that had accompanied Mr. Butscher to Africa eighteen months before, but *one* was now surviving. To add to the adversities of the mission, one of the houses at Bashia was wilfully burned down; an attempt was made also to consume the school-house at Canoffee. These base and ungrateful proceedings may be traced to a prevalent opinion among the natives, that the missionaries were the cause of the activity with which his Majesty's government at Sierra Leone were found to oppose the slave trade and its agents. Addicted to the unlawful gains of this direful traffic, and accustomed during its prevalence to receive large supplies of spirits and gunpowder from the European slave factors, it could not be supposed that they would be immediately reconciled to the change; or that evil principled men, whose interest was immediately concerned, would fail to avenge themselves upon the supposed authors of this reverse in their fortunes. It does not, however, appear that the missionaries had at all interfered on the subject of the slave trade; having been enjoined by the society to conduct their proceedings with the utmost delicacy upon this subject. In every point of view, therefore, the disasters

at Bashia and elsewhere must be attributed to the machinations of evil disposed persons, who would not tolerate in others an excellence and virtue which were a continual reproach to themselves. These circumstances did not, however, deter several other persons from joining the African mission this year. At home also, the expected revival, on the part of the French, of that infamous traffic, which had given rise to all these disasters, so greatly excited the spirit of the nation at large, that not less than *eight hundred and sixty-four* petitions, signed by nearly a million of persons, were presented to the legislature and government on the subject. The effect of these in guiding the conduct of our ministry, both at the Congress, which was then about to assemble, and in all our subsequent transactions with foreign powers, may readily be conjectured.

In India, the society's exertions were attended with a favourable degree of success. The chief part of the Church of England Liturgy having been translated into Hindostannee by the Rev. Mr. Corrie, a powerful assistance was thus afforded in conducting the devotions of the native converts. We have already stated some reasons for the propriety of thus introducing, as far as practicable, our national forms of service and discipline among the converted heathen. The schools also of the lamented Dr. John have been upon the increase, thus affording an engine of immense power for evangelizing the natives. In consequence of the poverty of the Royal Mission College of Copenhagen, the bishop of that diocese about this period cheerfully surrendered these schools into the hands of the Church of England Missionary Society, by whom they have been continued on the most liberal and efficient scale.

In concluding the transactions of the society's fifteenth year, we must not pass over a most important plan that now began to be adopted; we allude to the establishment of "*Christian Institutions*" in various parts of the world, with a view to promote the extension of the Gospel. The incipient steps towards a project of this kind had been already taken in reference to Malta, whither the Rev. William Jowett, late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, had gone out as the society's literary representative. The chief objects of this undertaking were to acquire every practicable degree of information respecting the state of religion in the numerous countries bordering on the Mediterranean, and to ascertain the most proper stations for Christian missions; to diffuse the Scriptures and religious knowledge; to suggest new translations of the Bible and the means of accomplishing them; to ascertain the existence of valuable manuscripts of the Sacred Writings; and, in short, in every possible method to promote the extension of true religion. We have understood that, by these

means, even already very considerable accessions have been made to the stock of information relative to the moral and religious state of those parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, which border on the Mediterranean; and that corresponding methods of benefiting them are opening, not to this society alone, but to every other that devotes itself to similar objects of benevolence. The society has lately obtained an invaluable manuscript, which we have seen, of the first eight books of the Scripture in the Ethiopic language, which is likely to supply a much-lamented deficiency that has long existed in sacred literature. It was thought that no complete copy of the Scriptures in that language is extant; but this important manuscript, with the various detached portions of the Ethiopic Scriptures to be found elsewhere, will nearly, if not quite, complete the sacred canon. It is, we believe, at present in the hands of the Rev. Samuel Lee, to be printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society for the benefit of the Abyssinian nation. We really augur much benefit to the world from the society's religious researches in the vicinity of the Mediterranean; and have no doubt that clergymen and gentlemen of piety and of oriental learning will be found to offer their services in this important part of its proceedings. A society of zealous and learned men thus settled in a central spot under fixed regulations, diffusing religious knowledge, by preaching, by education, by the press, by general intercourse and example, seems to offer the most auspicious prospects of stability and success; and, besides the other advantages of such institutions, they will greatly economize European labour, by educating natives for missionary pursuits. European benevolence may and must begin these exertions; but to the natives themselves of the various countries to be benefited, must we look for the full and ultimate propagation of Christianity in Mohammedan and Heathen lands.

Christian institutions have also been established, or are establishing, by the society, at Leicester Mountain, in Sierra Leone; and at Madras, Calcutta, and other places.

Having thus anticipated some of the proceedings of the next two years, we shall add only a few remaining circumstances. The difficulties of the African missions rendered a voyage of personal inspection thither highly expedient; and, accordingly, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth undertook that office. His very valuable and interesting report suggested many important improvements in the conduct of the settlements. In the mean time, a regular chaplain had been appointed at Sierra Leone; several of the Gospels had been translated into the Bullom language by Mr. Nyländer, and the schools were generally flourishing and on the increase. The difficulties, however, during the last two or three years have been very formidable. Fires had twice more occurred in those settlements among the

natives which are beyond the limits of the colony; and there seemed, upon the whole, much reason to imagine that such settlements had better be removed to spots more within the protection of the British government. The mortality also among the missionaries had been very great; and even the pious and indefatigable Mr. Butscher himself had fallen a victim to his labours.

The general affairs, however, of the society have been promising. New and important openings have occurred in India; the chaplains of English colonies throughout the world have as a body become far more respectable in their character and function; and not a few of them, in the most important spheres of action, have lent their most active support to the operations of this and other religious charitable institutions for promoting Christianity throughout the world. The minds of the natives of many heathen countries are beginning to open to the reception of the true religion—"the fields are white unto the harvest." Even in Africa, after a long and gloomy night, the beneficent operations of the society begin to be felt. Measures have been taken by government for dividing Sierra Leone into parishes, and erecting churches in each; with two for Free Town, the capital of the colony. The separate school fund, and also a fund for the important object of supporting a missionary ship, to be named the William Wilberforce, have been steadily advancing. The reception and instruction of the poor wretches liberated from slave vessels have been continued, as far as prudence and the funds of the society permitted. An Auxiliary Bible Society has been established and liberally supported at Sierra Leone, which remitted nearly two hundred pounds, as its first fruits, to the parent institution in London. The smuggling slave-trade has, however, still continued to throw the most formidable impediments in the way of the society; and till it is banished fully and for ever from that unhappy country (an event which, from recent treaties with foreign powers, we venture to look forward to, not without considerable hopes and eager anticipations) we fear that such difficulties will still remain.

Without, however, going over the large field which is opening before us, we shall pass by the remaining transactions of the society, in order to give such a summary outline of its proceedings as may afford our readers a tolerably correct idea of what it has really achieved. The number of stations now occupied by the society, including the schools at Tranquebar, amount to about *fifty*. In these stations there are at least *ninety* Christian teachers (many of whom are married), of the various descriptions of missionaries, readers, schoolmasters, &c. More than 4,000 children, besides many adult scholars, are receiving Christian education. The income of the society during its seventeenth year, notwithstanding the peculiar pressure of the times at that

period, had risen to nearly 20,000*l.*; and, what is a still more interesting circumstance, considerable numbers of English *clergymen* have been engaged as missionaries in the service of the society. No less than *eight* were sent out at once to different stations at the close of the year 1817. In no respect has the society been more happy than in thus awakening the missionary spirit of the Established Church, and raising up from among ourselves a supply of religious and enlightened young men, eager and anxious to devote themselves to the promotion of Christian knowledge throughout the world. The society has now no longer need to have recourse to the institution at Berlin or others elsewhere abroad, unless in cases where foreign assistance may be more suitable for their purpose. More than fifty persons applied during the last year for stations in its service as missionaries, schoolmasters, &c. The society is preparing the Scriptures, the liturgy, and tracts, in various Mohammedan and heathen languages; under the care, more particularly, of its Orientalist, the Rev. Samuel Lee, who is rendering, in this department, the most important aid to the designs of this institution and of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The following are its principal stations and missionaries, schoolmasters, &c.

INDIA.

Calcutta.—*Greenwood* and *Adlington*. The corresponding committee have schools containing 500 children, and print and circulate religious tracts.

Kidderpoor.—Two schools.

Agra.—*Abdool Messeeh* (native reader). Two schools.

Burdwan.—Three schools here and in the neighbourhood, containing 350 children. Five new school-houses now erecting in the vicinity.

Chunar.—*Bowley* (a native). Three schools.

Meerut.—*Anund Messeeh* (a native). Schools.

Titalya.—*Schroeter*, who is learning the Thibet language, hitherto almost unknown to Europeans. This station forms an important medium of communication between the friends of Christianity residing in India, and the Russian Bible Society.

Madras.—*Rhenius*, *B. Schmid*, *D. Schmid*, *Christian*, and *Rayappen* (the last two are natives). Schools. On their voyage for this station, *Fenn*, *Baker*, and *Barenbruck*.

Tranquebar.—*Schnarrè*, *Devasagayam*, and *David*. 825 children in the schools.

Palamcotta.—*Graham* and *Gahagan*, under the chaplain of the station. About 100 children in the schools.

Travancore.—*Dawson*. Considerable school.

Allepie.—*Norton*. A church is building, and government have given a house and land. This station appears very important on account of its local advantages.

Cotym.—*Bailey.* The Company's resident, having erected a college here for the Syrian priests, wished to place an English clergyman on the spot. Mr. Bailey was accordingly sent.

Tellicherry.—*Baptiste* (native), employed as schoolmaster under the chaplain of the station.

Vadadelli.—*Sandappan* (native).

CEYLON.

Lambrick, *Ward*, *Mayor*, and *Knight.* At the particular desire of the resident authorities these four clergymen have been sent to this field of useful and extensive labour. An American episcopal clergyman has been invited to join them.

WESTERN AFRICA.

Kissey Town.—*Wenzel.* Schools, 74 boys and 77 girls.

Regent's Town.—*Johnson.* Many baptized, 60 communicants. Schools, including adults, 409.

Wilberforce Town.—*Cates.*

Gloucester Town.—*Mr.* and *Mrs. Düring.* Schools, 13 boys and 67 girls.

STATIONS WITHOUT THE COLONY.

Canoffee.—*Renner*, *Wilhelm*, and two natives. It is feared that, on account of the slave-trade, this once promising mission among the Susoos must be relinquished.

Gambier.—*Klein* and *Anthony* (a native). Schools, 30 children.

Yongroo Poomoh.—*Nyländer* and *Caulker* (a native). Mr. Nyländer has translated the four Gospels into Bullom.

Gorec.—*Mr.* and *Mrs. Hughes.* Schools.

WEST INDIES.

Antigua.—*Mr. Dawes* has instituted schools containing 700 children. *Thwaites*, superintendent.

Barbadoes.—*Lieut. Lugger* has organized schools under the patronage of the society. Scholars, 200.

AUSTRAL ASIA.

New Zealand.—*Kendall*, *Carlisle*, *Hall*, *King*, and *Gordon.* A school of 51 children. Two young chiefs have arrived in England. After receiving due instruction, they will return.

New South Wales.—A seminary for New Zealanders, under the Rev. S. Marsden. Eleven young men, connected with chiefs, were rapidly improving.

MALTA.

Jowett, *Conner*, and *Dr. Naudi.* The objects of this station have been already explained. A translation of the Scriptures into Maltese is in hand.

We leave these simple *facts* to tell their own tale, and plead their own cause. They certainly are not of a nature either to provoke or to justify that opposition which appears to have been exerted against the society. Whether they ought to have an opposite effect must be left to the judgment of our readers.

ART. VIII.—*Prospectus and Specimen of an intended National Work.* By William and Robert Whistlecraft, of Stow Market, in Suffolk, Harness and Collar-makers. *Intended to comprise the most interesting Particulars relating to King Arthur and his Round Table.* Second Edition. London, 1818.

EVERY accurate observer of the course of human affairs during the last twenty years must have been struck with the great changes which have taken place in the mode of conducting literary and military warfare, and with the opposite directions in which the current of revolution has flowed in these two departments of intellectual exertion. In the days of our fathers campaign often passed away after campaign without a single decisive event; it was an established maxim of the military art, that a general never fought but when he was quite at a loss what else to do; and the consequence was, that news-mongers and newspaper editors, deemed themselves not unfortunate, if a year of war furnished one tolerably bloody battle to gratify the idle curiosity of the one class, and fill the empty purses of the other. Our lot has been cast in a less sluggish age. We belong to a generation, which, turning a disdainful eye on all languid operations, carries on war with a spirit so truly warlike, that when recourse is once had to arms, battles are of monthly instead of annual recurrence, and that too, without any diminution, but rather with an increase of bloodshed and devastation in each. Gladly would we hail this alteration as a proof that, as the world advances in years additional vigour is infused into the nature of man, and that all which we have been taught concerning the perfectibility of our species is something more than a collection of unmeaning sounds: but, when we extend our view more widely, appearances meet our eye which speedily banish the pleasing delusion. Physiologists assure us, that the amount of vital energy in the animal frame is so limited, that one organ can never attain to a high degree of strength without impairing proportionally the force of some other part. So while the improvement of human society has been displaying itself in

the augmented rapidity and decisiveness of warlike operations, symptoms of increased tardiness and heaviness of movement may be discovered in the field of literary combat. The daily skirmishes between authors and critics, of which the newspapers were once the scene, are now nearly at an end; the great conflicts were wont to occur regularly once a month; at present three months' preparation is requisite; and if attacks are still made monthly, these are of less importance than they once were.

We are too deeply embued with the philosophical spirit of the age, not to maintain that this change in the tactics of the critical host must be regarded as an instance and an effect of that grand law of nature to which we have just alluded. At the same time, as we are aware that there are few results in the formation of which several circumstances do not co-operate, the care of our reputation for sagacity and candour makes it adviseable for us to admit, that there are other causes, besides the one already mentioned, which have had a share in producing the slowness that at present distinguishes the marching pace of reviewers. Among these causes we would class what is generally thought to be a great improvement on the art itself. It is now quite contrary to rule for a critic to proceed immediately up to the work which it is his duty to attack. He must break ground at a cautious distance; he must rear formidable batteries of general principles, and maintain a long, a loud, and a stunning cannonade of general reasonings, before he engages in closer combat with the foe. He is thus compelled to drag after him a quantity of ammunition and heavy artillery, which cannot fail to encumber his motions. Whether in this alteration the art of critical warfare has undergone an improvement, or merely an alteration, we must presume to doubt. The patrons of the change tell us, that it enables periodical publications to convey much more complete information than when they confined themselves to the proper task of criticism, and to insinuate valuable principles into minds, whose appetite for knowledge is too weak to lead them to peruse any thing more solid than the occasional productions of the day. It may be doubted (for we leave our military metaphor behind us, partly because it is unwilling to continue any longer in our service, and partly because, when we reason, military personages should be kept at a distance) whether books, rather than topics, are not the proper subjects of criticism; whether reviews are not generally read at hours, and in a frame of mind, in which we are too little inclined to mental exertion to make any addition to our stores of knowledge; and whether they, whose powers of thought are so feeble, or whose relish for truth is so faint, that they either are not able or are never tempted to seek instruction in the great

works of human intellect, are likely to gain any thing by the perusal of arguments, which thus take them by surprise in the pages of the Reviewer; and are too fugitive to be distinctly impresed. But the weighty objection to the prevailing fashion of criticism, is the trouble which it occasions to the critic; especially when he has a book before him, as we now have, on such a subject and in such a style, as to afford no opportunity of expatiating in those general reasonings to which our fraternity is become so partial. Such a situation is always vexatious and perplexing in the extreme; but it is doubly mortifying to us at present, because it is one in which, when we took up Messrs. Whistlecrafts' book, we had no suspicion of being placed. "Prospectus and Specimen of an intended National Work" was a title so imposing, that it brought into our minds the "exegi monumentum ære perennius" of Horace, with a multitude of kindred associations, and suggested the most grave and interesting topics of discussion. We besides anticipated, with perhaps no slight degree of self-applause, the public good of which we might be the source, by throwing out a few hints for improving the splendour and magnificence of the edifice. And if the national monument, when completed with all the amendments which we meant to propose, should be deemed worthy of general admiration, why might not this national work be adopted as a national memorial of the triumphant issue of the late war? What though the poem might have been originally constructed without any such view? Has not the victory of Waterloo been commemorated by a bridge begun before it was won, without any compassion for the perplexity, which hundreds and thousands of years hence may be thus occasioned to chronologers and antiquaries, who, meeting with a battle fought in one year, and the trophy to perpetuate the remembrance of it founded long before, to reconcile the apparent contradiction will probably be forced to suppose, that, in the beginning of the nineteenth century, there presided in the councils of Britain, a prescient spirit, which, at the distance of years, could with unerring certainty foresee the issue of the most dubious conflicts? In contemplating so lofty a destination for the national work of Messrs. Whistlecraft, our fancy was not at all checked by the inglorious designation of harness and collar makers. We reflected, that the modesty of genius had, probably, sought concealment under a lowly garb; and even if the authors should in reality follow the humble occupation to which they lay claim, has not Mr. Cobbett again and again demonstrated, that it is by the hands and fingers of artisans and labourers alone, that every thing valuable is produced?

The wide field of discussion, which these views opened to us,

gradually closed, as we advanced in the perusal of the prospectus and specimen. When we reached the end, we were convinced that the national work of Messrs. Whistlecraft was neither meant nor fitted for the end to which we fondly wished to adapt it. The speculations, in which we were ready to indulge, were therefore useless; and, what was still more mortifying, though we could tell what the prospectus did not mean, it was no easy matter to say what it did mean. The two brothers have framed their cipher so artfully, that it may be read by three or four keys; and if any presumptuous critic, obtaining one of these, should attempt to unfold the secrets of the puzzle, they can immediately spring forward with another, and expose his mistake. We were for some time at a loss which of the keys to choose; and we had almost resolved to consider the work as a code of political wisdom, when we were deterred by the very delicate discussions in which we found ourselves entangled, in interpreting some of the passages where allusions are made to recent events:

> " Before the feast was ended, a report
> Fill'd every soul with horror and dismay;
> Some ladies on their journey to the court
> Had been surpris'd, and were convey'd away,
> By the aboriginal giants, to their fort,—
> An unknown fort,—for government, they say,
> Had ascertain'd its actual existence,
> But knew not its direction, nor its distance."

With the Reports of Secret Committees still wet from the press, would it not have been rank imprudence to venture on a commentary upon the last three lines? We therefore resolved to walk in a less thorny track than that of politics; and accordingly we announce to our readers, that the work of Messrs. Whistlecraft ought to be considered as a choice collection of the peculiar beauties of the present age of English poetry, from which young gentlemen will derive no less advantage in their attempts to acquire a truly modern and fashionable poetical taste, than from their Gradus ad Parnassum in the composition of nonsense Latin verses.

Recollecting the old saying, that example is better than precept, we shall not lay down any general canons of criticism which might be deduced from the verses of these Suffolk bards; we shall rather sketch the outline of the structure of the work, and quote a few of the most brilliant passages, that our readers may enjoy the fragrance while we explore the recesses of the flowers. The national work is divided, according to the most approved fashion, into cantos; and is preceded by what has hitherto had no appropriate name in poetry, though in prose it is usually called a preface, or an introduction, or an advertise-

ment to the reader. Messrs. Whistlecraft denominate it a proem; and we think the poetical nomenclature is indebted to them for the appellation. The office of the proem is to serve as a kind of lumber-room for things that have no connexion with the subject of the work, or with one another, but which can, without much difficulty, be done into rhyme. The genius of the Whistlecraft family is very conspicuous in the execution of this part of their task.

"I've often wish'd that I could write a book,
Such as all English people might peruse;
I never should regret the pains it took,
That's just the sort of fame that I should choose;
To sail about the world like Captain Cook,
I'd sling a cot up for my favourite muse,
And we'd take verses out to Demerara,
To New South Wales, and up to Niagara.

"Poets consume exciseable commodities,
They raise the nation's spirit when victorious,
They drive an export trade in whims and oddities,
Making our commerce and revenue glorious;
As an industrious and pains-taking body 'tis
That poets should be reckoned meritorious;
And, therefore, I submissively propose
To erect *one board for verse, and one for prose.*
* * * * * * * *
Each board to have twelve members, with a seat
To bring them in, per annum, five hundred neat."

We know not which excellence is most conspicuous in this passage;—the poetical art with which it is composed,—or the skill with which that art is concealed. Horace long ago enacted, as a fundamental law of verse, that poetry should begin with smoke and end with fire, rather than begin with fire and end in smoke. In conformity with this ancient maxim, the commencement of our national work is studiously depressed, and mean almost to slovenliness; here are no coruscations to dazzle us; all is simple and unassuming; the commonest things are expressed in the commonest words; and if the poet should not afterwards soar to the loftiest heights of Parnassus, he at least has the comfortable assurance of being in no danger of tumbling lower. The versification has a merit highly prized of late days. We do not allude to the double rhymes at the end of the first stanza, nor to the rich treble rhymes in the second; but to the pleasing harshness with which their melody is diversified, and which, in modern criticism, is held to add as great a charm to the graceful flow of verse, as a rivulet gains, when, from a smooth, still, course it begins to glide with a rippling lively current over a pebbly bed. This is a secret

in the art which formerly was little practised. Pope, for instance, and Thomson, and Goldsmith, are so invariably melodious, that the ear of a true critic is soon cloyed with the luscious richness of the stream of sound which they pour fourth. Even Dryden was never rough, but when he had no leisure to be smooth. It was reserved for a later age to discover, that harshness is a necessary ingredient in poetical harmony; in obedience to which maxim, Messrs. Whistlecraft, after sliding softly through the first stanza, push through the second with much less regularity of movement; until their progress becomes exquisitely jolting, and jerking. The first two lines contain an amiable proof of modesty, which ought not to be robbed of its meed of praise:

> "I've often wished that I could write a book,
> Such as all English people might peruse."

Most men would have wished to write a book, which all their countrymen would like to read: but our brothers, with the proud humility of conscious genius, confine their desires, or at least their language, to the production of a work which it shall be possible for all Englishmen to peruse. It is likewise worthy of remark, that it is not a distant, casual, and ceremonious acquaintance with the goddesses of verse, which our two brothers have to boast of: they are in possesssion of all the privileges of long intimacy: instead of appearing before the Muses as humble votaries, preparing offerings for their acceptance, or decking bowers for their abode, they treat them without reserve, and talk of packing them off as plain men do their wives, to sell their small wares wherever they can find customers. At first this appeared to us to savour not a little of an unpoetical concern for the means of subsistence: but, on second thoughts, we are inclined to ascribe the uncourteous mode of procedure, which they speak of adopting, to the more dignified motive of solicitude for their poetical fame; since the muse would naturally be the most zealous propagator of the fame, which had been the fruit of her own inspiration.

The second line of the enumeration of the merits of poets,

> "They raise the nation's spirit when victorious,"

contains one of those happy peculiarities of conception, which genius alone can reach, though even genius cannot always command them. An ordinary mind, especially if it happened to have any recollection of Tyrtæus and the Spartans in the Messenian war, might have struck out the idea, that poets are of use to raise the spirits of the vanquished: but is there any thing wonderful in raising what is low? to lift what is already high to a still greater height is surely a much more uncommon and stupendous effect: and accordingly, our Suffolk bards, with great

originality and felicity of thought, eulogize their art, not because it alleviates the dejection of defeat, but because it adds even fresh extravagance to the intoxication of victory.

The preceding line,

"Poets consume exciseable commodities,"

though it has no pretensions to that brilliance of conception which we have just been admiring, is yet remarkable for the skill with which it takes advantage of the present predilection for every thing that smells of political economy. This ground of praise will appear to be very aptly chosen, when we consider that the excise is that branch of the revenue in which till very lately the greatest deficiency has taken place, and that it is to the government that the cause of the poetical fraternity is here recommended. We are surprised that Messrs. Whistlecraft did not carry their eulogy further: they might have asserted, that poets produce, as well as consume exciseable commodities; for poetry was long ago defined by the primitive fathers to be *vinum dæmonum*—the devil's wine. They probably rejected this notion, because, if adopted, it would bring poetry under the cognizance of the Commissioners, which would be inconsistent with their plan for establishing two boards, one for verse, and one for prose. The idea of the two Boards exhibits the strength and copiousness of the Whistlecraft imagination, more conspicuously than any other part of the poem. We have only to regret, that they have not entered at more length into the details of an establishment of so great consequence to the public prosperity. Some, to take away from the merits of the proposal, may perhaps hint a suspicion, that the authors, far from being altogether disinterested, entertain an expectation of receiving the recompense of their ingenuity, by being themselves nominated to two seats. For our parts we acquit them of these grovelling views; for they cannot but be aware that such a nomination would be the extreme of impropriety. The Board of Excise might as well be filled with soap-boilers and distillers. Unless all dealers in verse and prose be excluded from the tribunals which are to have the superintendence of these commodities, the members will never be able to exert their authority with effect: for though their virtue might resist the temptations to abuse, they would never escape suspicion. Some may allege, that the gentlemen of the two boards should be skilled in verse and prose, which they cannot be without practice in these arts. But what do the members of the Board of Trade know about commerce and manufactures? and yet, is not the Board of Trade universally allowed to be one of the most harmless boards in the kingdom? The whole objection proceeds upon the very false notion, that the members of a public establishment

ought to understand the affairs of which they have the management. Such an idea can be entertained by those only, who hastily apply to public concerns the maxims of their domestic economy, without a due consideration of the principles of constitutional law.

Our bards, having thus suggested a hint for the encouragement of learning by the state, proceed to lament the loss of the twenty guineas which authors, in former times, were wont to receive from the patrons to whom they dedicated their works.

> " Then twenty guineas was a little fortune;
> Now we must starve unless the times should mend:
> Our poets now-a-days are deem'd importune
> If their addresses are diffusely penn'd:
> Most fashionable authors make a short one
> To their own wife, or child, or private friend,
> To show their independence, I suppose;
> And that may do for gentlemen like those."

We agree with Messrs. Whistlecraft in deprecating the practice of gratuitous dedication. But, instead of bringing back the old fashion, we are inclined to think that it would be more profitable for the literary part of the community to adopt, as the general practice, what was attempted (we know not whether with success) in the case of Tristram Shandy; where the dedication, printed at full length, is followed by an advertisement that it shall belong to whatever nobleman or gentleman shall offer the highest price. The sale of dedications by auction would, we have no doubt, extend the market for them very considerably. The fashion of family dedication is supported by such eminent examples—by that of Sir Humphry Davy, for instance, who inscribes his Elements of Chemistry to Lady Davy—and of Sir John Sinclair, who dedicates his History of the British Revenue to his son—that it threatens to become very prevalent, unless it is checked in its growth by being subjected to penalties. We wish that our limits allowed us to point out all the unassuming beauties of language, which lurk in the stanza which we have just quoted. We can do no more than direct the attention of our readers to the simple energy of the last line, and to the striking antithesis between *that* and *those*. " And that may do for gentlemen like those." We are not sure, however, that this flower of Parnassus is the genuine growth of Messrs. Whistlecraft's garden.

The conclusion of the proem is very properly occupied with announcing the theme of the intended national work, and the reasons which have determined the authors in the choice of their subject.

" King Arthur, and the knights of his round table,
Were reckon'd the best king and bravest lords,
Of all that flourish'd since the tower of Babel;
At least of all that history records;
Therefore I shall endeavour, if I'm able,
To paint their famous actions by my words:
Heroes exert themselves in hopes of fame,
And having such a strong decisive claim,

" It grieves me much, that names that were respected
In former ages, persons of such mark,
And countrymen of ours, should lie neglected,
Just like old portraits lumbering in the dark:
An error such as this should be corrected,
And if my muse can strike a single spark,
Why then (as poets say) I'll string my lyre,
And then I'll light a great poetic fire;

" I'll air them all, and rub down the round table,
And wash the canvass clean, and scour the frames,
And put a coat of varnish on the fable,
And try to puzzle out the dates and names;
Then, as I said before, I'll heave my cable,
And take a pilot, and drop down the Thames."

We have already admired the plain unadorned style with which the proem began; the profusion of figures and richness of imagery with which it concludes is no less worthy of applause. A careless reader might suppose that, after the spark has been struck, and the poetic fire lighted, and the portraits aired, and the round table rubbed down, and the canvass washed, the frames scoured, and the fable varnished, there is an incongruity of metaphor in heaving the cable, taking a pilot, and dropping down the Thames. The fact however is, that the last two lines, instead of being metaphorical, contain a literal statement of a plain matter of fact. They have nothing to do, like scouring the canvass or varnishing the fable, with the composition of the poem, but allude to the purpose of the writers, when the task of versification is finished, to set out on a voyage, with a view to retail their work in New South Wales.

The proem being finished, the national poem itself commences. After a description of the feasts and revels, the knights and ladies of King Arthur's court, we are presented with the characters of Sir Launcelot, Sir Tristram, and Sir Gawain, drawn very elaborately, and kept as distinct as heroes of an epic poem ought ever to be. Into the composition of each, a few grains of mystery are thrown; which, according to the rules of modern poetical pharmacy, is essential to the composition of an interesting personage. In the second canto intelligence arrives, that a company of ladies had been carried off by a band of giants. The knights pursue,

discover the castle of the giants, and attack it without success. Sir Gawain then conducts his operations against it in regular form; and after much labour perceives that he is not likely to effect his purpose in this way; or, as our bards beautifully express it:

> "In fact his confidence had much diminished,
> Since all his preparations had been finished."

Lastly, Sir Tristram attempts to gain the fortress, by a *coup de main;* and after much difficult climbing, hard fighting, and abusive railing, finds himself in possession of it; delivers all the ladies, with the exception of two fat duennas, who had been devoured; and forms a sentimental friendship with a sick giant, who had been saved from the general carnage. The canto concludes with announcing, that the ensuing part of the poem will contain an account of a giant's travels and education.

The merits of the construction of this plot are very conspicuous. It has always been deemed of poetical importance that the scenes which the poet paints to our imagination should follow one another in such an order, that the impression of each may be increased by the contrast subsisting between its general character and the general character of the scene immediately preceding; and that the fancy, instead of being tired with the sameness, may be refreshed by the variety of the pictures which are set before it. To try Messrs. Whistlecrafts' work by this criterion, we have merely to throw a cursory glance over the assemblages of ideas, by which it successively arrests our attention. First, we have the dishes on which King Arthur's court feasted, twenty-one in number, according to our reckoning; then the rude jollity of the menials is described; the courteous knights enter next; after whom the ladies make their appearance; three highly finished portraits of the three principal knights fill the following eight pages; then comes the consternation produced by the intelligence of the ladies' misfortune; the journey of the knights, their arrival at the place where the giants had supped, the description of the castle, the assault, the regular progress of the siege, Sir Tristram's *coup de main,* with its attendant horrors and bloodshed;—and that the reader may not be dismissed with a painful impression, the whole terminates with the pleasing sympathy which attaches Sir Tristram to the sick giant. They who cannot trace the most consummate art in this developement of the action of the work, must be pronounced insensible to poetical beauty.

The colouring of the piece is not inferior to the general disposition of its parts. The beauties of language and versification, which we pointed out at considerable length in the proem, appear in every part of the work. It is only a few of the more brilliant

passages that we can afford to extract; and even these few must be given unaccompanied by the full commentary which their merit would entitle them to claim. The following description of the knights and ladies must be admired; though perhaps it was not quite fair to mention as a defect in the gentlemen, that they had not attained to the accomplishment of driving stage coaches. Had stage coaches then existed, we would have resigned the reputation of the knights to its fate: but to blame them for not doing what it was impossible to do, is an harshness which the sternest *arbiter elegantiarum* could scarcely approve.

"Their manners were refined and perfect—saving
Some modern graces, which they could not catch,
As spitting through the teeth and driving stages,
Accomplishments reserved for distant ages.

"They looked a manly, generous generation;
Beards, shoulders, eyebrows, broad, and square, and thick,
Their accents firm and loud in conversation,
Their eyes and gestures eager, sharp, and quick,
Show'd them prepar'd, on proper provocation,
To give the lie, pull noses, stab, and kick:
And for that very reason, it is said,
They were so very courteous and well bred.

"The ladies look'd of an heroic race—
At first a general likeness struck your eye,
Tall figures, open features, oval face,
Large eyes, with ample eyebrows, arch'd and high;
Their manners had an odd peculiar grace,
Neither repulsive, affable, nor shy;
Majestical, reserved, and somewhat sullen—
Their dresses partly silk, and partly woollen."

The first appearance of the giants is characteristic both of them and of the work.

"Sir Gawain tried a parley, but in vain—
A true bred giant never trusts a knight—
He sent a herald, who return'd again,
All torn to rags and perishing with fright;
A trumpeter was sent, but he was slain—
To trumpeters they bear a mortal spite:
When all conciliatory measures fail'd,
The castle and the fortress were assail'd.

"But, when the giants saw them fairly under,
They shovelled down a cataract of stones,
A hideous volley, like a peal of thunder,
Bouncing, and bounding down, and breaking bones,
Rending the earth, and riving rocks asunder;
Sir Gawain inwardly laments and groans,
Retiring last, and standing most exposed;—
Success seem'd hopeless, and the combat closed."

The fury of the combatants has evidently communicated a sympathetic ardour to the imagination of the poet; for, in one and the same breath, the stones are put into a shovel, become a cataract, are next a volley, and last of all, a peal of thunder. A reader of taste, who give the verse its proper cadence, will find in the line

" Bouncing, and bounding down, and breaking bones,"

an adaptation of the sound to the sense, as exquisite as any that Homer or Virgil affords. The concluding line,

" Success seem'd hopeless, and the combat closed,"

has a wonderful dignity of expression, and flows with a solemn majesty, which is worth at least half the meaning.

The railings between Achilles and Agamemnon in the Iliad, are not managed with more attention to nature, when urbanity is lost in resentment, than the mutual salutations of our Tristram and the giants in the final and successful attack.

" The giants saw them on the topmost crown
Of the last rock, and threaten'd, and defied—
'Down with the mangy dwarfs there!—Dash them down!
Down with the dirty pismires!'—Thus they cried.
Sir Tristram, with a sharp sarcastic frown,
In their own giant jargon thus replied:
'Mullinger!—Cacamole!—and Mangonell!
You cursed cannibals, I know you well—

" 'I'll see that pate of yours upon a post—
And your left-handed squinting brother's too—
By heaven and earth, within an hour at most,
I'll give the crows a meal of him and you—
The wolves shall have you,—either raw or roast—
I'll make an end of all your cursed crew.'
These words he partly said and partly sang,
As usual with the giants, in their slang."

Messrs. Whistlecraft are entitled to praise, not merely for the distribution of their matter, and for the poetical beauties with which they have adorned it, but for the subject itself. Poetry has of late been rambling over ground which formerly had not the reputation of classical. From the isles of Scotland to the plains of Hindostan, there is scarcely a region on which the footstep of the English muse has not been imprinted. The rude legends of our forefathers, and even the incoherent inelegant mythology of Brahma, have received fresh beauty from her hands. We have long wondered that she has continued so long insensible to the attractions of the giants and ogres, who have agitated, and still agitate, so many youthful hearts, and who have so large a share in producing the pains and the joys of the nursery. The poet, who shall celebrate them with worthy strains, will find

in the breast of every person, who in his childhood has followed Jack the Giant-killer through his marvellous adventures, a chord which will vibrate responsive to his notes. Such a bard Mr. William Whistlecraft in part was, and such we hope the surviving brother will yet prove himself to be. He will then be to giants what Walter Scott is to feudal chieftains; and as much as a giant surpassed the most brawny borderer, by so much may he promise himself that his fame will exceed that of the minstrel of the North.

Art. IX.—STATE OF MORALS AND CRIMINAL JURISPRUDENCE IN FRANCE.

1. *Memoirs of Madame Manson, explanatory of her Conduct on the Trial for the Assassination of M. Fualdès: written by herself, and addressed to Madame Enjelran, her Mother. Translated from the French, and accompanied by an Abstract of the Trial, and a concise Account of the Persons and Events alluded to in the Memoirs.* 12mo. pp. 276. Baldwin and Co. London, 1818.

2. *Procédure de l'Assassignat de M. Fualdès, devant la Cours d'Assises de Rhodez.* 8vo. pp. 300.

There is a M. Jouy in Paris, who, as a member of the French Academy, is to be regarded as an author of considerable name and authority amongst our neighbours, and who has written eleven or twelve volumes of essays, expressly on "*the Manners and Usages*" of his native land. This gentleman, in the course of these essays, censures what he declares to be the well-known and acknowledged propensity of his countrymen to undervalue themselves and their country; and, to prove that he, at least, ought not to be included in the reproach, which may be justly brought against the Parisians and Gascons in particular, for this excess of humility and diffidence, he states his own opinion in the following clear terms:—"*We are, whatever we may be pleased to say of ourselves, the best, the most social, and the most enlightened nation of Europe.*"

This sentiment, though it may seem rather abrupt, and somewhat singularly introduced, as it is stated with every appearance of sincere conviction, merits serious attention. It is a pity, we allow, that the French should undervalue themselves; and it is our duty to say this, because, on the other hand, we should not feel inclined, for particular reasons, which we shall probably specify in the sequel, to submit quietly to hear them

very much overvalue themselves. Least of all should we be inclined to submit to this, if the superiority were assumed, not in a burst of virtuous partriotism, or in the enthusiasm excited by some splendid manifestation of public spirit or principle, but in the supercilious repetitions of a presumptuous arrogance whose living impulse is levity, and whose daily food is licentiousness. The superiority we recognize should certainly consist in something which we can usefully imitate or honourably admire: the sacrifice of self ought only to be made at the altar of Greatness or of Goodness: when we practise mortification it ought to be with a view to improvement in moral worth and dignity. It would be infatuation in the last degree to consent to honour what we should be ashamed to be, or, still worse, to receive corruption in return for acknowledging others to be more deserving than ourselves.

Before going further, however, we must permit ourselves the pleasure of unequivocally recognizing the superior ingenuity of our neighbours. To claim with a boldness, which some may think approaches to effrontery, a triple superiority over all the world, and at the same instant to lodge a demand on that generous regard which most people are delighted to pay to merit when ignorant of its own existence, is a combination of opposite, and, as they have usually been thought, of contradictory pretensions, which probably no one but a Frenchman would have imagined, and which certainly none but a Frenchman would have had bravery enough to publish. Wonders, however, of this nature, are by no means rare in that happy country, where the sentiments of doubt and difficulty, that press so heavily on the rest of mankind, can scarcely be said to exist at all. M. Jouy's union of the edifying spectacle of national humility with the majestic display of national pride, is one of their most common feats of dexterity. "How comes it," says a critic in the *Mercure*, "that we French are so unjust towards our historians, notwithstanding they are superior to those of any other nation? We persist in thinking that we have rivals in this department of literature, whereas nothing can be more evident than that Montesquieu is above Gibbon, and that Hume and Robertson must yield precedence to Voltaire, considered simply as a writer of history."—Who can help being prepossessed in favour of an amiable people, who declare to us that they are first in every thing, and that they are conscious of their excellence in nothing? It would surely be the height of injustice to refuse our acknowledgments to this double claim: if we deny the merit, should we not yield to the modesty? and if we doubt the modesty, ought we not to be vanquished by the merit?

But the total unconsciousness of the French as to those eminent virtues which they assure us they possess, has not hindered

them from exclaiming bitterly and vociferously against Lord Stanhope, because, as they express it, he has been base enough to accuse their national manners of looseness in regard to morality, and their national politics of a tendency to change, to disorder, and to aggression. One of their writers, a member of the Academy, has declared it to be an example of the extraordinary magnanimity of France, that Lady Stanhope was suffered to reside in Paris after these ideas of her husband were known; and there is not a bravo on their half-pay list who does not pretend that a British peer owes him a personal account for the opinion he has been unfortunate enough to form, and hardy enough to express in the British Parliament, clashing rather violently with M. Jouy's decision, quoted above. This puts us in mind of a note which Scudery added to one of his doggrels: "*Should any one take it into his head that this poetry is bad, I wish to tell him that my name is Scudery, and that I wear a sword.*" A stripling of Paris, who writes political pamphlets in a style of suffocating bombast, having last year reflected very severely, as he thought, on England, magnanimously dispatched an intimation to Sir Charles Stuart, that he lived *au quatrième* in some street or other, and that he held himself responsible as a man for all he had said; but that if he was attacked according to the fashion of ambassadors, he had no protection against poignards or poison! Differing from Lord Stanhope, in thinking that the army of occupation should be continued in France, and anxious to take an opportunity of declaring, that we consider the attempt on the life of the Duke of Wellington to have been the isolated act of some madman or ruffian, such as might be found in any country, we must yet hesitate to admit that his Lordship has calumniated spotless innocence. M. Lafite, in an excellent speech, delivered in the Chamber of Deputies, has recently indeed declared it to be villanous to distrust the pacific feelings of his nation; "for," said he, "the public wish pronounces itself loudly, that our politics may not for the future disturb any neighbouring people." It may be so; but who has heard this loud expression, and where are the indications of such a wish? In the *Minerve* (lately the *Mercure*), a periodical work, which is the organ of M. Lafite's party, there have appeared, it is true, several bitter attacks on Lord Stanhope, for daring to affirm, that there are men in France hostile in heart to the Bourbons, and that the mass of disbanded soldiers, and officers on the half-pay, cherish an ardent desire to renew the work of plunder and aggrandizement. Certainly the *Minerve* ought to know the real sentiments of these people; but unluckily, in the same number with one of these violent vindications of the morality and good temper universal at present among the French, we discovered a song ad-

dressed to the military, in which a camp prostitute addresses them in the plain language of her profession, in words with which we cannot pollute our pages, recalling to their recollection the various capitals in which they had practised their orgies, and bidding them hope that some day ere long they might yet drink a glass together at the expense of M. Lafite's "peuples voisins!" It is to be observed, that the *Minerve* publishes on its cover a list of its authors, amongst whom are three members of the Academy, and a Professor of the College of France; it is not, therefore, one of those obscure or contemptible works, the profligacy of which may be considered a matter of course, like the filthiness of low resorts. On the contrary, it connects itself with the dignity of the great Literary Corporation of France; it is identified with avowed writers of name and celebrity; it therefore forms a part of the unexceptionable evidence which the French nation furnishes respecting its own public character and disposition. Instead of breathing that "vœu national" for peace and concord, of which M. Lafite speaks, its general tone is inveterately malignant; and a host of minor works notoriously seek support by addressing the passions of Buonaparte's soldiery; filling their columns with all the falsehoods that credulous rancour invents or collects, for the purpose of again inflaming these trampled firebrands. The style of these incitements often affords a curious illustration of the propriety of M. Jouy's reproach of his countrymen for too much modesty. "The crowd," says one of the writers in question, "still continues to collect before an engraving, which represents a dying French grenadier keeping in check by his *countenance* a whole detachment of the enemy!" So much for the meekness of the French, and their present pacific temper, which they say Lord Stanhope has calumniated. Brantome, their old court chronicler, after narrating the scandalous amours of their queens and ladies, usually concludes the picture of each by assuring his readers, that she *was a good and virtuous woman, an honour to France, very chaste, and withal pious!*

As to the morality of general manners in France, which it appears Lord Stanhope, like others of our countrymen, does not consider to be too exemplary, it is a point upon which a people may be well allowed to feel tenderly sensible. Wilful calumny here would indeed be very base: but at all times, and still more particularly under the present circumstances of the two countries, an undue concession of truth to courtesy would be both foolish and criminal. It has indeed been pronounced, in the flippant and superficial cant of liberality, that general judgments passed on national character must be unjust. This is one of the discoveries of the present day, and is loudly proclaimed by persons who would fain carry to the credit of their philosophy the amount

of their deficiency in solid sense and steady principle. It would be very unjust, we allow, to deny the virtue of a particular lady, or the honour of a particular gentleman, because we may have been led, by studying the history, and observing the conduct, of the particular people amongst whom he or she has been born, to form an opinion not over favourable to the steadiness of the public disposition, or the extent of the public information. But to maintain that we ought not to come to any general conclusions on such points, is, at all events, as we have said, a novelty. The first historians, philosophers, and moralists in all ages, have been accustomed to trace the natural effects of particular political institutions and religious systems in the distinctive features marked on the aspects of different nations; and from these, as recognized and notorious, they have deduced some of the most clear and striking of those admonitions which have entitled them to the gratitude and admiration of mankind. If national character is not to be examined, and pronounced upon, public institutions become matters of comparatively small moment; for particular individuals may live virtuously and amiably under any form of government, and, at this time of day, personal security may in general be ensured by a tranquil pursuit of private pleasures and occupations, undisturbed by any regard to politics. No person who possesses the power of observation can look at the two people, the French and the English, without discovering a marked difference of national character, the vein of which runs, as a line of separation, through all their conduct and proceedings. It is apparent in their revolutions, in their literature, in their oratory, in their courts of law, in their religions, in the application given to the public means in things that are considered of general utility. Posterity will recognize the difference; and those amongst us who are far from being ashamed of it, must naturally feel anxious that it should not be obscured or misrepresented at present.

The question, as to the state of public morality in any country, is a very extensive one: all that we can think of doing here is to notice some of the facts, that will be found, we apprehend, sufficient to relieve from the charge of calumny those of our travellers who have represented that, in the present intimate communications between the two people, England might lose more than she could gain by the example offered to her. The clear and irreconcileable distinction between virtue and vice, between the good and the bad, has always been regarded and described by sound thinkers as a circumstance the most essential to the existence of what is called public morals. However lamentably great may be the amount of crime committed in a country (and England has but too much reason to deplore the increased cata-

logue of her offences), while this line of demarcation is kept strongly marked and recognizable by all, there remains a sure defence against general corruption, and the vital parts of the state may be considered as still healthy. It is the want of the impression of this distinction on the public sentiment of France that strikes us as chiefly indicative of her moral derangement. Take, for instance, the works of M. Jouy, to whom we have already alluded, which are placed, says their publisher, "on a level with the English Spectator, giving a faithful picture of the manners and habits of the French of all classes." Throughout these essays we find female virtue and adultery described in the same tone, recounted with the same air of smiling observation, and the same turns of small and mannered pleasantry, according as the author pretends to have met with examples of each in society. But these opposite examples are not of equal numbers: far from it: the stratagems of paramours, and the infidelities of wives and husbands, form infinitely the largest proportion of ten or twelve volumes: they are represented in works, the principal avowed object of which is not raillery or satire, but faithful description and instruction, as matters of daily occurrence, amongst all conditions, the high, the middle, and the low: and this writer, who is put on a level with our Steel and Addison, passes *jauntily* over a series of intrigues and debaucheries, which he offers as "*constituting a faithful picture of the manners and habits of the French of all classes!*"—M. Jouy, it is true, often presents scenes in which we find all that is amiable glossily delineated: but we observe no difference in his air or manner, no attempt to excite different feelings in the breasts of his readers, when he is narrating the history and success of a licentious adventure, and when he is describing the touching ceremony of the first communion of an interesting young female. He makes no attempt, in short, to influence substantially the character; he appeals to no fixed principle; all is alike reconciled to the agreeable; and the person who sheds tears over the solemnity of the church, may dry them, and go without hesitation to realize the amour described in the next chapter. We instance M. Jouy's writings so particularly, because they profess to give a picture of the French, and because they do give one: above all, because this looseness, and emptiness of sentiment, by which they are characterized, is the most prominent quality of the national disposition, and the chief source of what are deemed its embellishments. The French Spectator frequently talks of morality; but it is a morality like the gallantry of his nation, which, says Thomas, "destroys nothing, and mingles itself easily with all, because it has no depth, and is rather a fashion of the spirit than a sentiment of the heart." This sort of facility belongs to them in every thing; and it would scarcely

be too severe to say, that it indicates that they are to be depended upon in nothing. It is this which has given such a ridiculous character to their political enthusiasm: they publish odes one day " Sur l'heureuse grossesse de l'Imperatrice," and the next the same persons will faint away over the odour of a faded lily!

The most moral chapter in these essays of M. Jouy is one wherein he alludes to the adulteries of the court of France, that form a regular division of its public history, and belong as intimately to its politics and manners as our contested elections do to ours. He owns the " urbanité des mœurs," which always has distinguished, and which continues to distinguish, France, " sur le chapitre de la fidelité des époux," adding, however, that conjugal virtue is considered a title to esteem, but " le mépris ne s'attache pas toujours à sa violation." The severity of his own opinions on this matter may be judged of from the following passage. " Let the kings have their mistresses,—*let the queens have their favourites*,—it is a fault of which the *greatest part of their subjects would reproach them with a bad grace*. But that these mistresses should be publicly avowed, that they should be proud of their shame, that they should exact, that they should partake the honours of sovereignty, that they should give their name to the reign which they degrade,—that *the arts* should occupy themselves, or rather debase themselves by celebrating these splendid adulteries; that the historians, more vile than the courtiers, not having the same excuse, should consecrate this shameful celebrity; these are things which it is impossible to justify, and, if all must be said, which are not to be found in the records of any other people."

M. Jouy then agrees, not only that kings may have their mistresses, but that the *queens* of France may have their favourites; and, from his " picture of the morals and manners of the French of all classes," we learn that the *greater part* of their subjects would reproach such indulgences with a very bad grace! We ask, then, what English traveller has calumniated the appreciation of female virtue in France. Those who have considered it most deficient in proper strictness, have been careful to say that practical licentiousness was by no means to be generally argued from the miserable looseness of sentiments which they saw every where prevailing. M. Jouy, however, corrects them in this respect. What he says of the degradation of arts and of literature, peculiar to France amongst all other nations, exactly corresponds with what has been urged on the attention of our own public, in the language of censure and caution, by some of our countrymen, who have considered a faithful representation of the great moral maladies of nations, essential to improving the science of their preservation.—We have heard it affirmed, how-

ever, that such observations have only a fair application to the sentiments and manners of Paris; that these have always presented themselves prominently, as constituting the national character; but that, in truth, the great body of the French people, who live quietly in the provinces, possess qualities of a much more pure and steady kind. We would notice here incidentally, that it forms a peculiarity in the public disposition of France, distinguishing it at least very much from that of our people, to consider the capital as every thing, and the provinces as nothing. To this judgment the inhabitants of country places readily assent; and Paris is spoken of, in the distant parts of the kingdom, in language of reverential deference, which forms a striking contrast with the treatment of the Londoners by the people of England. This difference it is by no means unimportant to state; for it traces itself at once to a corresponding difference in the strength of thought and extent of instruction in the two nations. But as to the actual state of manners, in at least some of the principal districts of France, we can only venture to quote French authors, not without some fears that for repeating their own statements we may be accused by our neighbours of calumniating them.—M. Millin, a well-known savan, and "Conservateur des medailles, des piérres gravées, et des Antiques, de la Bibliothèque Imperiale," has published several volumes of a Tour through the southern division of his country, made so lately as 1808. "Les mœurs en Province," he says, "sont infiniment plus dissolues qu'à Paris: on peut en faire la remarque dans les petites villes, et même dans les campagnes. Une jeune personne qui a joui par anticipation des prérogatives de la maternité, n'en trouve pas moins un bon parti: on a même vu une fille mère reçevoir des visites de couches." He declares that, in the theatre of Marseilles, married men commonly go, in the face of their families, whom they leave in a box, to converse and make arrangements with the common women who are collected in what is called the orchestra of a French theatre; and that "a husband may be frequently seen in one box with his kept mistress, while his wife sits opposite to him with the lover who consoles her, and whom she avows almost as publicly." *Voyage dans les Departemens du Midi de la France, par Aubin-Louis Millin*, vol. iii. p. 328.

In the discussion of such questions as this, we can luckily spare ourselves the irksome and obnoxious task of investigating individual character: particular Frenchmen, and women, may deserve and receive our esteem; but there are general indications of the standard state of the public mind, the examination of which it is gross folly to consider as offering an insult to any one in particular. We turn, for instance, to M. Chenier's picture of French literature (recently noticed in our Review), and there

we find the obscure works of Laclos and Louvet drily stated among the novels of the period, without a word of caution even, far less of indignant criticism. Grécourt's indecent and blasphemous poetry is often casually noticed in the newspapers, and other periodical publications; and if any thing like rebuke be ever ventured, it never takes a more serious shape than that of a gentle tap of pleasantry. Do not such facts as these fairly suggest a comparison between the two countries? Have we not seen one of the most fascinating and elegant of England's living poets, delivering himself in the commencement of his career to the impulses of a licentious fancy, turned forcibly from this improper course by the severe inflictions of criticism, supported by the grave manifestations of public displeasure? Would so honourable and desirable an amendment, so beneficial to the arts as well as advantageous to morals, have been produced by the voice of public opinion in France? The question is answered by the fact, that neither the Academy, nor any of the known organs of criticism, consider the licentiousness of an author as a thing to be blamed; and it is such circumstances as these that prove the superiority of one nation to another in regard to public morality. Examples of profligacy are but too multiplied in England: its commerce, its political exertions, its large population, and we may add, the strong qualities that enter into the composition of the national temper, combine to produce violations of the peace and order of society; but its principles are not affected by these; wickedness exists, but it is with a branded front, and confined to its proper dens. Even a disorderly carriage is with us followed by a debasement in popular estimation: all within the line of public respectability is kept at least decently clean; but who in France has ever thought of reproaching M. Parny with the immorality of his productions? Certainly no member of the Academy, when that writer was received as a member: on the contrary, the looseness of his pieces only then gave occasion to a discourse on the nature of erotic poetry amongst the ancients. The grossness of expression to be found in the works of some of the earlier English writers of high reputation, considering that they wrote at periods when manners were altogether on a different footing, and when language had, we may say, a different acceptation, is not to be put in parallel with that depravity of design and principle which dictates the indecencies that disgrace many celebrated names in French literature. The novels of Diderot and of Crebillon are atrocities to which happily we have no companions in the same rank of talent and celebrity: and we ask again, what French writer, in this age, which is described as one of reformation, has endeavoured to reduce such abomina-

tions to their proper level of contemptuous abhorrence? The glory, however, of modern Frenchmen is Voltaire: he is represented as an instructor in morals, a sage in philosophy, a model in art. The stranger who visits France must have considerable firmness and resolution if he can withstand the torrent that is brought to bear on any one who attempts to dispute his rightful supremacy in matters of virtue as well as of taste: yet so large a mass of depraved sentiment and false opinion as that which is contained in this author's voluminous works has never been thrown upon the world, by any other single writer. There is scarcely, in fact, a fine reputation that he has not calumniated, a noble principle that he has not disputed, a beautiful production that he has not abused. His general system of morality is fully explained in the following verses of his; and from them may be guessed the influence of his almost universal popularity in France:—

> " Mais Dieu, Père indulgent, nous voit d'un voix plus doux;
> Il aime ses enfans, et veut les sauver tous:
> On ne l'offense point par de l'aimables faiblesses.
> Que lui font nos soupers, nos bals, et nos maitresses?
> Il nous donna des sens,—pourrait-il nous punir
> Quand d'un present si beau nous cherchons à jouir?"

The bishop of Beauvais, who delivered the funeral oration of Louis XV. having had the honest hardihood to notice the debaucheries of that monarch as vices, Voltaire addressed a letter to the preacher, in which he exclaims, " Ah, Monsieur, employez le mot propre; l'amour est une faiblesse, l'ingratitude envers son bienfaiteur est une vice." What is this but the reasoning of a venal and profligate courtier, who would decry honesty as ingratitude, and inculcate tenderness towards the irregularities of men in power; yet Voltaire is generally considered by the French as their principal leader in the cause of liberty. In one of the monthly numbers of a periodical work, which does great honour to France, and from which it might learn to improve its opinions on more points than one, we some time ago observed a remark made on the connexion of Voltaire's name with that of Liberty, which struck us as extremely just. " There are certain liberal doctrines," it said (we quote only from memory), " from which people ought not, and will not at this time of day be turned; but the identification of these with the frivolous philosophy of the eighteenth century" (they mean the *French* philosophy) " has been a great hindrance to the cause of truth and improvement." For this hindrance Europe is entirely indebted to France: her conduct has rendered the terms which express the best things suspicious in the ears of the best people; and the period does not seem to be yet quite arrived when the minds of

men can entirely recover that certainty in just principles, from which they have been shaken by her opinions and example.

Are we to stifle and conceal the lesson which all this inculcates, for fear that the French should charge us with calumny? Are we, out of deference to their feelings, to avoid the examination of the facts of their history, and of such occurrences as their daily organs of intelligence recite to the world? We should be abandoning the best means of instruction, and the most forcible admonitions against certain dangers, if we were to make any such concession. At the conclusion of a long period of revolution, during each stage of which we have been told, not only by the French, but by many amongst ourselves, that France was building up a solid edifice of glory, which would darken the fame of all her neighbours, it becomes not only a matter of curiosity, but a necessary duty, to regard closely the state of her public mind and institutions. Let us imitate her, if we can improve ourselves by so doing; let us avoid what might lead us into the course which we have seen her take, if the result appears to our eyes mischievous and degrading. It is under this impression that we have been led to examine the publications containing the history of the inquiry into the murder of M. Fualdès, including, as that history does, an aggregation of circumstances which has excited the most lively sensation in France, and displayed the genuine action of its public feeling on events that materially affect the public interests.

We confess that we regard this history as peculiarly calculated to throw a clear and fair light on the disposition and attainments of the nation; for, in the first place, it relates the effects of a cause of popular excitement, which offers nothing to seduce or pervert the honest impulse of the public sensibility, as a political affair might be supposed capable of doing; and, secondly, it demonstrates the character of the independent administration of justice in France, in its function of protecting the safety and avenging the wrongs of society, where the moral sense of mankind is alone concerned; and no sinister motive of authority can be supposed to have an influence to turn it from an even, steady, cautious, faithful, and determined course. It is to the credit of public morality in a country when the functions of the ministers of justice are assisted by the solemn abhorrence of the public mind, directed against instances of enormous crime, and lending its affecting gravity to the discussion of transgressions against the first principles of nature as well as against the laws of all human institutions. Where this gravity of sentiment is wanting; where, in lieu of its supplying a power to the laws which the apparel of force cannot give to them, incidental circumstances are permitted to arrest the attention, and turn salutary horror into pernicious pleasantry;

where the popular writers find it their interest to spread a garniture around the hideous spectacle of murder and barbarity,—is it calumny to say that there must be a great deficiency of public conscience, heart, and dignity? Perhaps the principal security of a country is to be found in the stern and angry regards which society fixes on great delinquents, the frown of which nothing can divert or soften. If the mockery of justice, the impudence of depravity, the indecency of licentious manners, are permitted to constitute an agreeable relief from the contemplation of the sanguinary villany, to which they form a sort of farcical accompaniment, national manners may possess a certain glossiness of surface, the smoothness of which it is easy to vaunt; but the want of marked distinctions in the characters of men, and the qualities of things, will ever render such a state of society slippery and unsafe; and in times of trial, when radical properties are put to the test, the most direful calamities maybe expected to result from the absence of fixed rallying points for the virtuous, and of immoveable lines of separation and defence from the vicious.

This being indisputable, we apprehend, in regard to public morality, we would observe that the constitution of the administrative justice,—the general rules which define and guide its proceedings, in order that their operation may be at once safe and effectual in the course of its momentous investigations; that innocence may be protected against unhappy accidents, and guilt have little reason to flatter itself with the hopes of impunity, are the most convincing proofs that a nation can afford of the extent of its knowledge and sagacity; of the progress which true philosophy has made amongst its people, and of the rank which it has a right to claim in the scale of general estimation. Political power may be seized by desperate hands, and an enlightened people may be compelled to submit for a time to extravagancies that must appear on the face of its history, which nevertheless cannot fairly be said to characterize the nation. But it is at present the interest of all sorts of governments, as well as of their subjects, to organize with skill the administration of public justice, as applicable to the ordinary cases of civil engagements and criminal outrage. Buonaparte had his military tribunals, and his general power of exception in political cases, enabling him to supersede at pleasure all the established laws, and the functions of all the regular courts of the country: but justice, as between man and man, and between society and criminals, it was his object to place on the best possible footing; and he availed himself, for this purpose, of all the lights which France could afford. Whatever may be the body of rules thus formed into a system of justice by an act of authority, its character will soon

receive its most important practical qualities from the influence of the national mind, continually bearing upon its exercise, and modifying and applying, with a force that nothing can resist, the dry regulations that have been emitted from the council-room of lawyers and statesmen. In regard to this part of her institutions, therefore, France must take upon herself the entire praise or the censure due to its adequacy or its imperfections. The butcheries of the Revolution she traces, with admirable magnanimity, to Mr. Pitt; her submission to Buonaparté "to *circumstances*;" and his return from Elba to the English cabinet; but her code, and its practical administration in her courts, are her own, and she is proud of them. Not one of her public writers has hinted an objection, directed fundamentally against the principle of proceedings, which, as will be seen, include almost every possible variety of absurdity and unfairness. With reports of trials before them, which would raise in our country one general cry of alarm and astonishment, which would call forth irresistible argument for the reformation of such a fallacious and ill-contrived course of inquiry, and silence the most inveterate party-spirit by the superior feeling of universal interest,—we find the French silent, acquiescing, and many of them admiring the construction of their juridical machinery. Mr. Benjamin Constant has indeed proved that, in one instance lately, an innocent person was sentenced to death; but his able observations do not apply to the fundamental source of the evil: they are solely directed to the mischief done in one particular case. It is not that censure dare not exert itself in France. The priests, the foreigners, the nobles, are bitterly attacked; the measures of the administration are sharply criticized, as they ought to be; and the conduct of the magistrates in matters of police is strenuously debated. But the undignified, ridiculous, insufficient, and grossly unjust system adopted in their criminal courts, which daily affects the lives and reputation of individuals, and exposes the national respectability, attracts no attention whatever to its defects. The reason of this is, as we shall soon see, that its faults proceed clearly and distinctly from the national character; from its heartless frivolity, its love of theatrical display, its vanity, and, we add with reluctance, its *inhumanity*. After using such language, our facts ought to be incontrovertible,—and we believe they will be found so.

It is, then, with reference to two points of observation that we request attention to the contents of the publications whose titles are placed at the head of this article; viz. the interest which Madame Manson has excited in France,—and the forms under which the ministers of justice there conduct its investigations. We do not know that any more curious history could be offered to our readers: for however contemptible may be the individual whose name

gives the greatest interest to this case of murder, the influence which she has had in impeding the course of justice, and the attention which has been paid to her extravagancies by the gravest legal authorities, as well as by the body of the nation, render the circumstances of her notoriety highly interesting and singular.

Every body by this time has heard, that M. Fualdès, a gentleman of respectability, and an inhabitant of Rhodez, a town in the south of France, was one morning, about twelve months ago, found murdered in the river that runs near that town. The circumstances of his assassination are said to be, that he was seized forcibly in the street about eight in the evening; carried by a troop of men into a house of bad fame, and stretched out upon a table; that his throat was then cut with a blunt knife; the blood given to a hog; and the body carried, in a kind of procession, to the river at no very late hour: some of the neighbours being at their doors, and several persons in the streets. The principal persons accused of contriving and executing this murder, are Jaussion and Bastide, men of property and consideration in society; the first a relation, and both intimate friends, of the murdered man. An accomplice states the fact of carrying the body, but does not speak to the murder, not having been present. A little girl, the daughter of Bancal, who kept the disreputable house where the assassination is said to have taken place, is stated to have told some other little girls that she saw the above horrible scene take place from her bed, where she lay unknown to the murderers. She has since, however, denied the whole story, and has not been examined in court. The woman Bancal, Bastide, Jaussion, Colard, and Bach, were condemned to die, as authors of the murder with premeditation; Anne Benoit, and a man named Missonier, were sentenced to be imprisoned for life, as concerned in the murder, without premeditation; and a daughter of Bancal, with the wife of Jaussion, and the sister-in-law of Bastide, were declared innocent. The parties appealed in cassation,—and the court of cassation broke the whole proceedings; chiefly on account of an irregularity in administering the oath to the witnesses, sending the condemned persons to be tried again before the Court of Assizes at Albi.

The reading of the whole confused mass of reports, conjectures, speculations, and facts, as contested, affirmed, and any thing but proved in court, certainly leaves on the mind a strong impression that the condemned parties are really guilty. There are however many grave and almost insuperable difficulties in the way of such a conclusion, and nothing can be further removed from what would be deemed to warrant conviction in England. Still however we repeat, that, on the whole, we believe them to be guilty; but God forbid that we should have their lives on our

consciences in consequence of what has taken place against them in the French court. The general evidence it is not our intention to state; neither shall we detail the full particulars of the case: the public journals, and the publications themselves, are sufficient for the gratification of curiosity. We shall only observe, that Jaussion and Bastide are supposed to have been induced to commit the murder by certain money transactions subsisting between them and the deceased; and that the other persons accused are miserable creatures, who, if they have committed the crime in question, have been bought into it by the principal agents. A more strangely stupid scheme than this was certainly never contrived. Some of the many persons, male and female, so needlessly employed, appear to have had no previous intimation of the design, and to have been in situations leading most naturally to the speedy divulging of their share of the secret. Our object, however, is only to notice such particulars of the case as illustrate the monstrous imperfection of the mode of proceeding in the French criminal courts. It is not, therefore, to be supposed that nothing was stated in evidence beyond what we are about to quote: our design is not to establish either the guilt or the innocence of the accused—but to make it manifest that the observances which common sense, prudence, humanity, and justice impose, to guide and define the course of a trial for life or death, do not exist for a prisoner in France; that a looseness of proceeding is admitted which can scarcely fail to be frequently fatal to innocence,—and which involves outrages on justice almost as glaring as any crime that can come before the tribunal.

The most remarkable of the witnesses in this case we have not yet noticed; it is Madame Manson. Shortly after the discovery of the murder, it seems to have been reported in the town of Rhodez that this lady, who lived there in a state of separation from her husband, was, by some accident or adventure, found in the disreputable resort at the instant when the murder was committed. Such reports are very clearly made out to have been caused by her own conversations. It was said that she had seen the assassination take place from the window of the closet where she was concealed; that she had been subsequently discovered by the murderers; that one of them wished to put her to death; but that her life was saved by another. Report mentioned Bastide as the person who wished to destroy her, and Jaussion as her preserver. M. Clemendot, an officer on the staff, who is by some supposed to be the gallant for the sake of whom Madame Manson went to the house of Bancal, declared before a magistrate that she had avowed to him having been an eye-witness of the murder. The lady was in consequence examined,—at first she denied totally. Confronted with M. Clemendot, "I ought," says she in

her Memoir, "*to have torn from his head the few hairs that there are left.*" After two or three examinations by the prefect, she intimated, that if her father would engage that her allowance should be regularly paid, and, above all, that she should not be compelled to live in the country with her mother and brothers, she would confess the whole truth. It was at this period that she commenced a series of letters to the prefect, which that worthy magistrate appears to have very graciously received, and which are all written in a style of sentimental heroics, that we are afraid would have been wasted on our Bow-street justices, and irreverently, we may say, considering the occasion, indignantly treated in our public journals, but which have had great success in Paris, where Madame Manson became the object of general eulogy and interest. The members of the French Academy who edit the *Minerve* quoted passages from them as equal in eloquence to the sermons of Bossuet! In her first letter she declares she will unveil the mystery. May Heaven grant her force to speak! Perhaps her life will be in danger,—but at all events she will do justice to a brave officer—meaning M. Clemendot. Elsewhere she draws the following portrait of this brave officer, which certainly is not in the manner of Bossuet: "His lower jaw projects; he has an enormous mouth and a mean nose; he squints; his complexion is wan; he is bald, and speaks through his nose; he is not taller than I am; his legs are like two gun-barrels, added to which he has a rage for wearing short breeches and black stockings." Probably it was this decent passage which inspired a poetical address to her that we have seen quoted in the Paris journals:

> "J'ai vu de votre ésprit *tout Paris tributaire!*
> On vous croit un secret: je vous en connais deux:
> N'avez-vous celui de plaire!"

In the presence of M. Clemendot, and before the magistrate, she now owned being at Bancal's. The officer having retired, and her father having come in, she retracted all, saying she had only joked with the aide-de-camp. Her Editor, who at first professes to believe her the most *naïve* and romantic of creatures, and who afterwards, when he quarrels with her, gives himself the lie, makes very light of these contradictions: "an impassioned moment might conduct such a character to make a false confession, and to sustain it in a *tête-a-tête.* Madame Manson has proved that she can brave all sufferings but the inquisition of the thought, —the *question morale.*" This was unanimously considered as satisfactory in Paris, or, what was better, as finely and delicately said.

Besought by her father to speak the truth, she declared she was at Bancal's, but that she could not recognize any of the persons

concerned in the murder. Conducted to the place, she pointed out the closet, the window, the table; declared that the assassins had shown her a piece of paper, on which was written, "*if you speak, you perish.*" She added, that she was in a man's dress, and that she had burnt her pantaloons, because they were spotted with blood; "in fact," says she, in her Memoirs, "I was so tired, and so *hungry*, for it was five o'clock, that I said any thing that came into my head to escape most quickly from M. Le Prefect." The publication of such passages as these so kindled the enthusiasm of French gallantry in her favour, that she has concluded a bargain with a bookseller for the copyright of a volume formed of the tender and complimentary letters which she received during the course of the affair. Neither by the members of the French Academy who write in the *Minerve*, nor by any one Editor of any French journal, we believe, was a word said calculated to lead this infatuated woman to shame and penitence, and to spare their country the disgrace of having its magistrates and its public thus made the sport of her falsehoods in the serious matter of a trial for murder.

During the course of the night which followed this examination she "began to think that what she had said might be attended with bad consequences." She accordingly wrote two more letters to the prefect. In the first of these she says, "In you alone I put all my confidence;" but tells him nothing, because she "feels it to be impossible to connect two ideas together:" in the second she makes stronger claims than ever on the admiration of the editors and poets. "Abandon an unfortunate! overwhelm me with the weight of your anger!" One cannot imagine a correspondence of this nature going on between Sir Nathaniel Conant and a female witness who had seen an assassination committed in a brothel. She hints to the prefect that her confession is false; *but that if he bids her sustain it, she will do so at all perils of her life.*

At the next interview with the magistrate, she agrees that she was in the house: soon afterwards, her confessor having told her, what she had not before thought of, that she implicated the woman Bancal by saying that she had seen a murder committed in her apartment, she retracts all again, and writes to the prefect, complaining against "the malignity of the public;" accounts for her false deposition, by saying "she had lost her head," that her energy had been subdued for a moment, but that she will recover it again.

Again "reflecting on her situation," she continued the correspondence. She begged the prefect not to imagine that it was her design to amuse him by false tales. "Could you suppose me capable of such wickedness?" she asks. She requests the magis-

trate to prove to her that *virtue exists in the nineteenth century*—and hopes that he will *burn her letters!*

The judges arrive in the town; still more letters to the prefect: she informs him that should *one* being show himself interested in her fate, she might yet love life; that her heart is ulcerated; that she has not studied Machiavel. The public prosecutor (le Procureur General du Roi) received a visit from her; he told her that her fine voice was well known at Montpelier, and then spoke of the murder. From the public prosecutor she passed to the chief judge, who was to preside at the trial the next morning. Our readers will be astonished to hear that he received her, and conversed with her on the cause! The other judges came into the room; the President did the honours of his apartment with more politeness than Lord Ellenborough would probably have shown in such circumstances, introducing Madame Manson to his brethren. He observed to them that "Madame was in such a state of irritation, that she was resolved to force M. Clemendot, the pistol at his breast, to speak the truth, and that she would blow his brains out if he resisted!" She declares in her Memoirs, that she made a great impression on the Bench at this private interview. She again writes to her old correspondent the prefect, to say, that she "*had seen in his eyes all the excess of his sensibility!*"

When the trial came on she resolved in good earnest to shoot M. Clemendot: full of this design, she called a young milliner from the street, bade her step to Madame Pons, and ask *for a loaded pistol.* "This lady flatly refused what I demanded;" but "rage passed away, and religion and reason *returned!*" She wrote to her father that the great blow should be struck; that the tribunal would be astonished; that the wretches should perish!

Introduced into court as a witness, the president made her a speech, in the course of which he told her that she was *an angel destined by Providence* to clear up a horrible mystery. She was invited to tell all she knew of the assassination; on which, says the reporter, she darted a terrible look at the accused, and fainted away. A maréchal-de-camp and others, fly to her help. Recovering, she cried out, "Remove from my sight these assassins!" She then deposed that she knew of no assassins, and that she had never been at Bancal's:—she added that she believed Bastide and Jaussion were there. "Why do you believe so?" "In consquence of anonymous notes I have received."—"Since you say you know nothing yourself against these men, why did you call them assassins?"—"By conjecture: besides (turning to Jaussion) when one kills one's children, one may kill one's friend." The chief judge enters with much eager curiosity into this story about killing children; and a good deal of loose talk takes place on this subject between him and his visitor of the

evening before, all in the hearing of the jury. Being still further pressed, Madame Manson again fainted away—but this time she kept her seat. On her *recovery*, she put her hand on the sword of an officer, who was administering the remedies proper in such cases, and exclaimed "You have got a knife!" The officer removed his sword that she might not be alarmed by its sight.

M. Fualdès, the son of the murdered person, is busy in court during the whole proceedings; he is indulged with permission to make speeches as often and as long as he pleases, and on any subject that may occur at the moment. The public prosecutor and another lawyer are employed against the prisoners, but that appears to be no reason why M. Fualdès should not also take possession of the court at his pleasure. The best possible understanding seems to have existed between him and the judges; he abused Bastide's advocate in outrageous terms, often interrupted the prisoners in their defence, and favoured the audience with long accounts of his mode of living at Paris, what company he kept, and what were his motives and feelings in pursuing the assassins of his father. Nothing could equal the nobleness of his conduct, say the reporters; and the audience never failed to dissolve in tears whenever he opened his mouth. When the accused persons take the undue liberty of cross-questioning him, the Court murmurs disapprobation! The display of grief made by M. Fualdès is scarcely less theatrical than Madame Manson's horrors; but what is most offensively ridiculous is his intolerance and impatience, which perpetually goad him to interrupt the debates. The advocate for Jaussion having objected to the testimony of a domestic belonging to the family of the murdered man, that his statement before the court went much further than his deposition before the Judge of Instruction, M. Fualdès gets up without ceremony, and informs the Court, that his servant ought to be easily excused for the omission, inasmuch as he himself could scarcely at first bring himself to believe in the guilt of Jaussion (then on his trial). "I was in my bed," said M. Fualdès, "when at the approach of that person I felt an indescribable horror, so much so, that I shrunk beneath the clothes to avoid his sight. It was then, as if by inspiration, I felt convinced he had been the principal instigator of the murder of my father!" All this goes without a word of caution from any body to the jury. M. Fualdès, as attentive to the inspirations of others as to his own, requested the Court to order a file of armed men to be placed between the prisoners and Madame Manson, that she might feel reassured; this arrangement of the scenery took place, and had a striking effect. Madame Manson played her part still more interestingly; she assured M. Fualdès, with whom she carried on the dialogue, that to discover

the assassins of his father, she would give all she had—"All," she added with a sigh, "but my son!"

Is it not strange, is it not most lamentable, that there should not be found one person in France to point out how unworthy all this miserable mummery is of a court of justice: to indicate the folly and the enormity of permitting melo-dramatic scenes of mock-sensibility to be acted before a jury assembled to try men on life or death: to show how the judgment seat is degraded, and the moral principle, that can alone sustain its dignity, injured, when a judge declares to a witness, in the situation of Madame Manson, that she is an *angel commissioned from heaven to reveal the truth!* Is it not fearful that it should not strike one Frenchman to maintain, that life and character can only be safe in a country where justice takes a calm, dry, and deliberative course in pursuing its investigations, limiting its proceedings to the establishment of absolute facts, and carefully excluding from access into the tribunal, not only the heated imaginations of individuals, but also those natural emotions, which, if honourable to friends and relations, lose their respectability when paraded in public, and which ought never to be permitted to disturb the gravity of an official inquiry. That the multitude should be rash, violent, and prejudiced, with reference to an enormous crime, is not to their discredit; but here are judges and lawyers substituting heroics in the place of deliberation, and, instead of opposing the necessary checks to tumultuous precipitation and mistake, as their stations call upon them to do, joining the general extravagance, as if fearful to lose their share of the *eclát!* Is it illiberal to suggest in what a very different and how much more respectable a manner such an affair would have been conducted in this country? A woman of the character of Madame Manson might have been permitted to amuse the public in matters of a less tremendous character than an assassination; our people may be "fooled to the top of their bent" in many things; but luckily we do not so terribly confound what ought to be kept immeasurably separate. When a certain barrier is passed, the public mind in this country returns to seriousness and reflection; and those whose peculiar duty it is to give the signal when trifling ought to cease, have not yet been found to be totally regardless of that sacred charge.

The astonishment of our readers will be increased when they find the chief judge exclaiming, in the middle of the trial, to the two prisoners, Bastide and Jaussion,—"You *certainly were in Bancal's house;* TELL US which of you saved the life of a female?" To the woman Bancal he said, "You know you are guilty;" and then exhorted her to look at the figure of Christ, suspended

over his head, and no longer conceal the truth! After this it is scarcely necessary to observe, that the humane and just rule of our law, that no prisoner can be called upon to criminate himself, has no place in French theory or practice. On the contrary if the accused do not criminate themselves by avowals, the judges tell them that they have done so sufficiently by their silence or their denials. Questions of the most indecent and appalling nature are put from the Bench to the accused, in a tone of severity, and often of sarcasm, which would scarcely be permitted to advocates in England (free as they are in this respect) towards an unconcerned witness. The judges cover the prisoners on their trials with reproaches; charge them with falsehoods; enter into contestations with them; declare that they are caught before the jury, and so forth. In England the judge is held to be officially counsel for the accused; in France he appears to be his natural and inveterate enemy. Independently of the inhumanity of this practice, it is necessarily fatal to that solemnity and majesty which ought to mantle the judgment seat in the eyes of society.

The president having again affirmed, by way of address to Bastide, that he was in the house of Bancal the night of the murder, Madame Manson suddenly exclaimed, "*Avow, wretch!*" This indecent interruption would have been severely rebuked with us,—but in France "all hearts trembled," says the reporter. She had just declared, be it remembered, that she knew nothing of the affair; yet there appears to have been no one in court, not even the counsel for the prisoners, to charge the jury, as they valued their consciences, to dismiss entirely from their attention the mountebank tricks of this infamous woman. A M. Amans Rodat is then invited by the judge to state in court a sort of metaphysical lecture which he delivered one day to Madame Manson on the propriety of speaking the truth when examined in a case affecting men's lives and the punishment of murder. After several modest excuses, he commenced the repetition of his discourse, in which he told her, that, "if a *wicked* world should judge of her by *appearances*," (in consequence of her having been in a brothel) "it would at the same time say, as has been said of our first mother, *Oh, happy fault!*" "Go on! speak, sir!" said the president, "your words may serve for *public instruction*."

We can conceive nothing more calculated to divest the jury of the power of keeping their minds impartially fixed on substantial facts, and even to fill them with the most deadly prejudices, than the desultory, vague, and vulgar style in which the official act of accusation is drawn up. It is long and historical, with no appearance of technical precision about it. It enters at large into all the reports and surmises of the neighbourhood, lays great

stress on public opinion as directed against particular individuals, and relates all the extravagant stories which any great crime is sure to set afloat, in the inflated style of a common newspaper, desirous to sell a second edition by the attraction of its horrors. By the French law it seems to be the duty of the nearest magistrate to proceed to the spot where a crime has been committed, and there to collect and embody in a procès verbal, every thing that any one shall choose to tell him, in the way either of opinion, hearsay, surmise, or knowledge, in regard to the offence. Persons are designated by individuals as objects of public suspicion; and when so designated the magistrate receives from all mouths anecdotes of their private lives, no matter how distant the date, or how remote from any connexion with the fact that has occasioned his official researches. All this mass of terrible matter is read to the jury on the trial. In our courts it is perhaps the principal care of the judge to impress on the jury, that they are to drive every thing from their minds but what they shall hear in court; that they are to discharge from their memories, if possible, even, every report and circumstance which they may have known out of doors; and that, if any thing should escape, even within the walls of the court, that is not evidence according to legal rules accurately defined, it ought to have no share in the formation of their verdict. In France, on the contrary, if we are to believe the report of the trial of the accused murderers of M. Fualdès, the procureur-general laid down the astonishing doctrines, that the jury ought to judge by their impressions, and even their sensations, and that it was an error to suppose legal proofs of a determined character necessary! Should it have happened that his words on this important point have not been exactly reported (a supposition to which we are almost driven by the monstrous nature of the principle), it is but too certain, that the evidence was received in conformity to this system. Two hundred and forty witnesses for the prosecution is a number only to be accounted for by the fact that all who pleased to offer a deposition were received, no matter whether what they had to say had or had not any connexion with the guilt or innocence of the prisoners. In several cases the ridicule thrown upon the name of judicial investigation was as great as the insult offered to justice. Will our readers believe that, in France, in the year 1817, a witness was permitted to make the following statement as regular evidence against a man on trial for his life? J. Vignes, who described himself as *professor*, being sworn and questioned, declared as follows:

"I met Bastide on the 19th of March, about two o'clock in the day, on the Boulevart d'Estourmel, below the garden of Mr. Segurét. I said to my companion, 'That man *looks like a rogue.*' 'He belongs to

a respectable family, however,' said my friend. 'No matter,' replied I; 'he carries a bad look with him.' More late in the day I was in the shop of M. Fontana, the jeweller, with the same person: Bastide again passed: *I was seized with horror*, and hastily retired into the shop. 'You will get yourself into a quarrel,' said my companion.' 'I cannot help it; I am not master of myself,' I replied. When I heard of the affair in which he was involved, I felt no surprise, and I observed to my friend *that I was not deceived.*"

This is the whole of the witness's deposition! Happily we have judges, who, if they had had patience to hear him out, would have asked when he had finished, What does this man prove, except his own consummate folly? Bastide, however, is questioned by the president what he has to say to *this testimony!* Though the presumptions are very grave against the prisoner, one can scarcely help feeling respect for him, compared with his judges, when we find him contenting himself with congratulating the department on having a professor who was so good a physiognomist! Five or six witnesses are brought in, merely to say, that they had heard from others, that these others had heard it reported, that Mr. Fualdès had been watched for a considerable time before his death. A justice of peace is examined, who commences his testimony by declaring that he has nothing at all to say in regard to the murder, but that he has been told that *eighteen years ago Bastide opened a cabinet at his brother's, and took out some papers!* For the first and only time, one of the counsel here rose, and said that the jury ought to distrust the reasonings and surmises of witnesses, who should confine themselves to plain and applicable facts. The Court, who had listened with interest to the physiognomist, stopped the advocate in this proper discharge of his duty, and begged that its time might not be occupied by such unnecessary remarks! In the act of accusation, it is said that Colard, one of the prisoners, had been heard to declare that he would take any one's life away for twenty-five louis; that the good things of the world were not well divided; that the rich had more than their share; and that if every one were of his mind, those who had nothing would take where they could. The jury were so struck by this passage, that they desired it might be read to them twice, though it had no earthly connexion with the case they had to try; and the judge, in his charge, particularly alluded to this atrocious speech, as he called it—so much the more improperly introduced, as it has a direct bearing on the political opinions that have so long agitated France, and was therefore very likely to excite in the breasts of some of the jury, feelings of prejudice against the prisoner totally irrelevant to the crime with which he stood charged. The sanction given to stories of this nature

by repetition from the organs of authority, must have a very strong effect on the minds of the mayors of villages and other petty functionaries in country places, of which description of persons we observe the jury in this case was principally composed. The liberty of raking together all the loose floating matter which scandal or mistake may have scattered, and to convert it into a substitute for regular evidence, when people's tempers and imaginations are disturbed by the commission of a great crime close to their homes, must expose the best intentioned persons to the hazard of being betrayed into dreadful error—a hazard which ought to make all who may be employed in such investigations tremble for themselves, and which may well alarm every friend of justice and humanity, much more those unhappy individuals whom accident may expose to the enmity or misapprehension of authority thus mischievously armed. The advantage of strict, and even narrow general rules to confine the reception of evidence, is, that being applicable alike to all cases, they counteract the effects of a disposition to oppression, or the influence of delusion in particular instances. That no such disposition or influence could exist, would on each separate occasion be affirmed with zeal, and most frequently with the consciousness of sincerity; but the unanimous voice of history too well proves, that the members of society are only safe in the fixed impartiality of general regulations, controuling or excluding the exercise of discretionary power.

All the follies, scandals, surmises, and irrelevant facts, stated by such witnesses as we have been regarding (and many others were received equally idle), were mixed up together in the speech of the public accuser to the jury. On the strength of these, and not with reference to the murder, he styled Bastide a monster such as nature seldom engenders. Quoting stories, which rest on no foundation that would entitle them to be listened to in common conversation, he asked if such a man would hesitate to murder Mr. Fualdès for 26,000 francs, although nothing like *regular* proof had been offered of the pecuniary interest which this prisoner had in the death of the murdered person. On the other hand, the falsehoods and tricks of Madame Manson he ascribes to *a character naturally generous, sentimental, and elevated!* He observes that though she had not criminated Jaussion, the jury would draw a conviction against him *from her exclamations and her gestures!* Upon this prisoner he then turns short round, to abuse him for habitual usury and hard dealing---a circumstance neither proved, nor entitled to be proved, on the trial.

The decision of the jury against the prisoners we have already stated, together with the quashing of the whole proceeding by the

Court of Cassation: but it is not to be supposed that the circumstances which we have pointed out as gross improprieties, had any share in producing this decree. None of these, in fact, would be regarded as improprieties in France. The principal informality lay, as we have said, in the administration of the oath to the witnesses. To prevent mistake we will here also repeat, that it is not our wish to leave an impression on the minds of our readers that the persons condemned are innocent: we have said that the *probability* is that they are guilty. But, we apprehend no doubt will now be entertained of what we set out with asserting, viz. that a fair trial is not to be had in France under its present system of judicial proceedings; and what more disgraceful thing can be said of a nation? It is quite obvious that no man's life or property can be safe where such a farrago of folly, passion, pretension, display, and intolerance, can assume the name and place of the administration of justice. There is no person whom accident might not expose to condemnation, while all the principal sources of human error are thus largely opened to discharge themselves into the public tribunals. In point of fact, the most dreadful mistakes occur. It is clearly proved that a man named Wilfred Regnault is innocent of the murder for which he was condemned to die. The government, being satisfied of his innocence, has saved his life, but sent him to prison for *twenty years* to avoid throwing discredit on the Court! A woman, also condemned for murder, was the other day discovered to be guiltless just as they were about to execute her. All these cases are of murder, it will be observed: these chiefly excite popular prejudices and clamours, and therefore chiefly produce the fatal development of the evils which so miserable a system necessarily includes in its course of operation.

While we have been writing this article the second trial has been proceeding at Albi; and some part of the proceedings have already reached this country. It appears that, at last, Madame Manson has lost her popularity with the crowd, but she preserves it with the judges and the lawyers. The public prosecutor still speaks of her romantic and noble disposition! She has again confessed being at Bancal's, and has accused Bastide in plain terms. "Never," says the Report, "has a scene so eminently dramatic terrified the audience of a tribunal. Never did the Champmelés, the Clairons, the Raucourts, of tragic memory, produce on their spectators an effect so prompt, so terrible." * * * "The voice, the countenance, the attitude of Madame Manson, in making this terrible reproach to Bastide, cannot be described! judges, lawyers, guards, spectators, and criminals, all turned pale!—a general cry was raised; then a doleful silence took place, which was soon *interrupted by a peal of applause!*" It has been

said that Bonaparte alone knew how to manage this nation; for the future it should be added—*and Madame Manson.*

It was during the interval between the first and second trial, that this lady, being in prison on a charge of—one has not been clearly told what—published her Memoirs, to which she would be apt to think that we have hitherto paid too little attention. They are certainly curious as proceeding from such a being; but we can now only spare room for a few lines on the introduction by the editor, which is highly characteristic of him, of her, and of the people to whom they both belong. A *young author*, says the *Journal de Paris*, is the person from whose hands the Memoirs of Madame Manson have been given to the publisher; and something is said, and more is suggested, about the interest excited in the breast of the young author by the lady, and in the breast of the lady by the young author. He turns out to be a short-hand writer employed to take notes of the trial. His introductory letter is intended to supply information and explanation; for "Madame Manson's style is not remarkable for throwing a light on circumstances." He believes, however, that it may be difficult to reconcile the lady's conduct "to frigid or prejudiced minds." "France entire," he says, "supposes artifices, combined interests, and profound calculations:" all the secrets, however, he assures us, "repose in the human heart." To elucidate this, he deems it necessary to enter "into a general analysis of her disposition, education, life, and character." The analysis, however, is very compendious. We learn that she is about thirty-three years of age; that in her youth she displayed a "grande finesse," a "sensibilité exquise," and that when she was but eight years old she manifested heroic resignation under the troubles of the revolution. She herself, in a letter to one of the Ministers of State (for she did not confine her correspondence to the Préfect) declares, that if her parents had perished on the scaffold at that time, *she would have mounted it with them!* Her modest wish is to be examined by his Excellency at Paris: and, writing to her mother, she exclaims, "Ah! could I but *see his Majesty Louis XVIII.* and the august daughter of Louis XVI. whose fate we have so often wept over!"

The young author intimates that Madame Manson was crossed in her first love. "She married to obey her father," as is often done in France; and, as such cases generally turn out, "the marriage was unhappy." M. Manson quitted her at the end of three months; and the lady, it appears, "gave occasion for talking;" but, says the young author, "she was singular, because she was superior." Her husband returned, and wished her to live with him: she refused; but being superior, and therefore singular, she hid him in her mother's house. He was discovered

in his concealment and "sacrificed," that is to say, he was turned out of doors; but Madame Manson, "under pretence of going to the village to fulfil a pious duty, used to meet him in a wood." "Who can explain these caprices?" asks the young author. To prove that he cannot, he quotes Madame de Staël, who says, that "the vulgar take for madness the uneasiness of a mind that cannot respire in the world enough of air, of enthusiasm, of hope?" To make this quite clear, he adds a note in which we are informed that Madame la Duchesse de Longueville, on drinking a glass of deliciously cold water, exclaimed, "*What a pity it is not a sin!*"

The analysis does not go much further: "the young wife became a mother;" but she seems to have lived entirely separated from her husband ever since. On the Memoirs themselves, which relate chiefly to her acquaintance with Mr. Clemendot and the events of her imprisonment, we cannot enter. They operated miraculously in her favour in France. Nothing was talked of in society or in the newspapers, but the graces of her style and the *respect* due to her misfortunes! A hundred thousand francs are reported to have been offered to her to preside in a café after her liberation. The work, as we have before said, is interesting as a specimen of human nature, but barefaced profligacy is marked on every page. Her inhumanity and selfishness in scattering insinuations of guilt at random amongst men, and women, and children, would have directed against her in this country one general expression of contemptuous abhorrence. But, indeed, in this country we never should have heard of her Memoirs. Justice here would have found a way to extract the truth within her knowledge without theatrical parade, or would quietly but severely have chastised her falsehoods, and examined and settled the case on such valid evidence as could be procured. The star of Madame Manson would never have pierced the fogs of our atmosphere: instead of calling her to preside in a coffee-room, we should most probably have sent her to Bridewell; and it is very certain that Lord Ellenborough would never have styled her an angel, nor Sir Samuel Shepherd have directed a jury to accept as proofs against men on trial for their lives, her faintings, her attitudes, and her exclamations. At the Old Bailey there would have been no Mareschals de Camp to receive her as she fell; but there the lady would not have fallen. M. Fualdès, the son, had he attempted there to explain his revelations, would have been desired not to interrupt the court, but to confine his grief to its proper sphere—his own chamber. With a general eagerness for the discovery of the culpable, and a *serious* horror at the crime, our people would neither have shed tears, nor raised cries, nor displayed tremblings: in short, we should have had none of those dra-

matic incidents which rendered the assizes at Rhodez so touching. On the other hand, as some compensation for this deficiency, the proceedings would have borne a firm, clear, distinct, and precise character: nothing but substantial and applicable facts would have influenced the fate of the accused; praters on physiognomy would not have dared to open their lips within the solemn precincts of the court; dignity, gravity, and decency, would have marked its operations: the prisoners would have been treated with humanity, judged with strictness; and, if found guilty, punished with rigour.

Such, then, is France:—France delineated by herself, in the most important points that regard public morals, the strength of the public mind, and the extent of the public information. Such is France, as her proper sagacity and disposition have formed her; where her late political tyranny has followed rather than forced the national impulses; where foreign interference has not thwarted her designs; where England's gold has had no influence to disturb her course; where her own proper luminaries, principles, virtues, and accomplishments, have had unimpeded scope. Such we find her at the conclusion of a revolution which was to render her the admiration and model of the world. It is not with her common people, or with her conduct in extraordinary situations, that we have occupied ourselves in this article. We have been dealing with prefects, judges, lawyers, and academical authors, acting in their ordinary functions. In these facts, gathered from her own accounts, may be seen proofs that our country might easily lose more than it could possibly learn by her example; and this conclusion leads to the principal motive which has induced us to take up the present subject, with the explanation of which we shall conclude the article.

We may observe in the first place, generally, that the attention that has been paid to the right information of public opinion in England, has been the principal cause of her greatness, and that it cannot be misled in regard to any considerable matter of fact, without mischievous consequences necessarily ensuing. There are persons amongst us, who, finding it difficult to connect their fame with their country's glory, would fain acquire distinction by paradox and contrast: such a fashion of representing things has its own attractions, particularly amongst a people accustomed to think strongly and independently; and we need not stop to point out what must inevitably be the effect of a prevailing misdirection of the popular judgment. It should be the patriot's endeavour to sustain in the bosoms of his countrymen, even in the lowest ranks, the conviction of their own value, and of their advance in knowledge and in liberty; since it is in England alone that the bounty of

Providence has reared that lofty and far-seen signal-light, which shines in the view of the world, to guide the advance of nations.

There is an exigence peculiar to the moment, which presses particularly on our minds—an urgent necessity for sedulously endeavouring to strengthen, by every honourable means, what may be termed the sense of national self-respect amongst our people. National character is always more or less in a flux state; the spirit and disposition of a nation, proper to itself, and distinguishing it in the eyes of those who surround it, are liable to undergo great, and even total changes in their essential qualities. Influencing causes of such alteration silently take root, and slowly grow: at no one moment would it be easy to specify the change which it has induced, yet the final result is a new face of things, entirely obliterating the old. In watching these tendencies, in calling attention to the progress which they are making, and to the direction towards good or evil which they may be observed to take, consists the most important duty of those who fill the posts of public centinels.

We have seen, in another country, the elegant profligacy of a court, directed by a monarch possessing a certain stateliness of temper which gave an erect carriage even to vice, extending itself downwards, without interruption, among the people, and becoming fouler and fouler in its progress: we have seen, in the same country, the general habit of flattering power, adopted without scruple by those who, under the title of philosophers, were sapping its foundations: and, in the end, we have seen the people of that country, thus untaught as to their duties and rights as citizens, debauched as men, and freed from all restraints as Christians, explode into aimless mischief, darting terror on all sides, only to lie in the end burnt out on the ground themselves, emitting stench and smoke. In all this, there is to be observed a constant progressive increase of the evil once begun; and the reason seems to be, that freedom and instruction had not given to the public character a sufficient constitutional strength to triumph ultimately over the disorders which accident is liable to produce in a state. In England, on the other hand, a recovery from the most pernicious attacks has always hitherto taken place: delusion often goes a certain length, but it would appear as if there was a latent power of prevention and correction (which it behoves us well to guard) deposited deep in the public mind, ready and certain to act when the mischief threatens ruin. The writings of Steel and Addison, succeeding to the depravities of foreign origin, summoned general readers to an admiration of the beauties of our first poets;—and these writings, forming a union, which no other literature in the world

can match, of a wit, lively, keen, and universal, with a purity, not merely of general object, but of language and manner of illustration, carried politeness, good taste, and piety into the interior of our families, from thence again to show themselves in those virtues that shed an air of dignity over a nation's reputation, and strengthen the roots of its greatness.

If all the circumstances of the present communication of England with France be considered, it cannot appear to any one that we are less exposed now than at the period of the restoration to the influence of foreign example: our own opinion is, that such influence bears upon our country in a more extensive and forcible manner than it has ever before done, and that its effects are at this moment lodging themselves very deeply. On the roads of the Continent it is very common to hear a discontented remark, that the English do not travel now as they were accustomed to do; that they do not spend their money in the same lavish and regardless manner as formerly—but that they are unjust and mean enough to expect to pay no more than that fair price for their accommodations which has been settled for all the rest of the world but themselves. This has been found hard, extraordinary, and even disgraceful: but the reason of the alteration, though a very palpable one, and carrying a certain compensation along with it, it is not thought fit to take into account. For every hundred British that travelled over the great roads of France before the Revolution, there are now at least a thousand to be found on them. The title of "My Lord" had, in former times, become commonly appropriated to our countrymen, because it was chiefly the nobility that travelled, or commoners whose style of equipage was equally imposing. It ought not to be expected by our neighbours that the quality of their visitors should continue as select as before, now that the quantity is so marvellously increased. The discharge from England, if we may so speak, has been copious to a degree which renders it a phenomenon in the history of society. Such a thing never took place before; nor could any other nation of the world furnish the proportion either of means, or energy, necessary to afford such a spectacle. When we speak of means, we are not ignorant that straitened circumstances have been a very principal motive of the emigration; but the necessity in most cases is merely relative to the rank and appearance which the parties have been accustomed to maintain at home. Because it has been found difficult to sustain these, and mortifying to reduce them, a temporary absence for the purpose of retrenchment has been resolved upon. The saving could, in general, be made more effectually by remaining; but the reduction of a family establishment, which in France is a matter but of a morn-

ing's deliberation when prudence seems to require it, is almost intolerable to English feelings; and few indeed can muster enough of proper courage to carry it into effect when the necessity for it is most urgent.

The importance that has been attached in all schemes of education to travelling, and the extraordinary impression which every one who has travelled must remember to have received from new scenery and society, prove that the effect of such a general emigration must be forcible one way or other. We are afraid that, like other stimulants, however salutary under prudent management, and in properly selected cases, it cannot be indiscriminately adopted without becoming highly dangerous. When a few wealthy connoisseurs and men of pleasure, and a certain number of young men with their tutors, formed the body of British travellers on the Continent, it might still have been doubted whether individuals did not more often lose than gain in the course of their journey: but at all events the absentees were under no temptation to quit or conceal the distinctive marks of the English character. On the contrary, there was every inducement to display these with a pride from which their country could not fail to derive advantages. Their wealth enabled them to give a commanding authority to the name of Englishman wherever they passed, and into whatever company they entered: they found that the peculiarities which denoted their origin procured them attention and respect; they heard their native land every where spoken of in language of admiration and wonder, as a mysterious place where liberty maintained an existence and an ascendency which foreigners could not well comprehend, and philosophy exercised a dominion the majesty of which they could not but revere.

The loss of an advantage which put others in the situation of inferiors, will always be regretted by those who have sustained it, but can claim no sympathy from others: we therefore make no complaints of the total change that has taken place in regard to the footing on which the British visitor to the Continent stands in the estimation of its people. Our object is simply to call attention to the facts. The class of our country-folks now abroad, that contains persons most to be pitied themselves, and whose absence is most to be regretted by their country, is formed of *families* who have left us to economize. They have in general been taken from a very characteristic part of English society; and they include those relationships whose affections impart a glow and a warmth to the shady places of life, and those conditions of age and character which are the most critical for the individual, and most important in respect to the interest which the public has in of its members. Husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, and

children, are to be seen thrown out of their suitable and natural situations into circumstances that are strange and deteriorating. The object of these travellers being indefinite as to time and place, wandering begets heartlessness, and all the reality of indwelling affections is lost in the habit of seeking full occupation for the mind in every momentary encounter.—These strangers struggling between economy and the temptation to expend, cannot assume an imposing appearance in the eyes of the natives; they are reduced therefore to the obligation of conforming as much as possible to all around them, and to surrender what is found peculiar in English habits and opinions, as the most likely way to reconcile themselves to continental society. We repeat, that they are as much to be pitied as regretted. They are out of their element; and, that this may be the less seen and felt, they get rid of that which best became them. Not to specify too minutely all that may be supposed to be going wrong in the interior of a family under such circumstances, we may state that its head soon acquires the certainty that he has lost his importance both at home and abroad. No longer connected with his neighbours by the discharge of any civil or professional functions which claim attention and confer respectability, he degenerates gradually from that character or disposition which is almost peculiar to his country; which consists in a quick sense of every thing public, and a scrupulous feeling in regard to all that can affect personal estimation. He thus becomes the mere shade of what he was; and, like the ghost of ancient story, he feels an eternal hankering after those substantial scenes in which he once bore a living and an active part, having now no better occupation than to pore over the pages of an obsolete London newspaper.

Absentees of another class are more completely alienated in affection from their native land; and this estrangement must be considered in a very serious light, though, being in general but single individuals, they may not afford quite so much cause for regret or alarm as those whom we have just been describing. We now allude to persons who have felt what is called the pressure of the times more immediately on their daily wants, curtailing their gratifications, and darkening their prospects. Deriving their incomes from various sources which absence does not affect, many individuals so situated have left their country, and, without being detached from her in their present means or ultimate views, are forgetting her indigenous manners, and peculiar sentiments; weaned in heart from her as a mother, though still intimately connected with her condition. The cheapness and goodness of French wines, and the difference in the price of an English and a French dinner, would form a triumphant answer to

any argument we might offer to these persons. The most unhappy consequence, however, resulting from this species of emigration, is, that the sentiment of political opposition, so naturally belonging to Englishmen, and which is generally strengthened in the character when circumstances do not go very favourably for the individual, becomes perverted and debauched, so as to lose all its beneficial tendencies, and to acquire some of a poisonous kind. This is an evil which arises out of the new features of the time: formerly the direction of all such sentiment was necessarily in favour of this country, where alone its proper attractions were to be found; but new debates and doubts have grown out of a system of altered relations and strange events; and those who leave her with discontented opinions are exposed to be enlisted in a set of unprincipled and ignorant foreign malcontents, by whom she is bitterly hated, and to be seduced by them to confound the cause of liberty with the success of profligate men, and the accomplishment of the most odious designs. This is a corruption of the most serious nature: it threatens to turn that which has been our strength into a mortal malady: to deprive us of one of our finest distinctions as a nation, the union of an untameable spirit of jealousy and independence with unchangeable patriotism, with habits of strict subordination to the laws, and a constitutional moderation in practical matters of grave importance.

The countless number of those who merely make an excursion to Paris, or into the provinces of France, is composed of all classes and descriptions, amongst which are to be found several that in former times furnished few or no travellers from their own country. The majority of these are very ill-adapted for exportation. Their virtues are only calculated for home use, and their faults it would be desirable to keep at home, as family secrets. It is not, by any means, that they are generally inclined to admire and adopt whatever they see abroad: far from it: most of them proceed contemptuously on their way, scattering and crushing to the right and left: but they meet with certain things that captivate them, and, unfortunately, if the people to whom they have paid a visit may fairly accuse their criticisms of prejudice and folly, we, to whom they return, are but little likely to derive improvement from that which they describe in language of approbation.

But the most mischievous circumstance of all is that which we have reserved to mention last: we allude to the not uncommon practice of sending young persons of both sexes, under other superintendence than that of their parents, to go through the most important, that is to say, the finishing part of the course of their education at Paris. It is scarcely necessary to observe, that it becomes the interest of those to whom they are entrusted

to enhance, even at the expense of misrepresentation, every foreign peculiarity which their pupils see around them; to describe as the offspring of prejudice, and as defects to be got rid of, many of the most salutary habits and sacred feelings, that enter imperceptibly from surrounding things into the character as life grows up, and which form it to fit the station where Providence has placed the individual. These young persons are daily accustomed to hear at least the laugh turned against their own country; they are taught to regard as ridiculous, observances which are intimately connected with the discharge of some of their most important duties. And here it is essential to point out for notice a remarkable difference between the two countries, which is alone sufficient to prove the perilous nature of the custom which we are describing. In England, unmarried females enter into society at a very early age on a free and unrestricted footing. They are entrusted to their own sense of propriety; and the precautions of their guardians have more in view the instruction of their minds, and the regulation of their sentiments, than the controul of their persons. The consequence of this system is, that the disposition and manners of a young English lady of sixteen or seventeen are distinguished by qualities of susceptibility and frankness which belong properly to the fairest and best part of the female character; which shed around it a touching interest, and present it in an attitude of natural grace, unknown to those who have only an opportunity of regarding woman where she cannot be said to have any existence for society at all until she is let out upon it matured and dextrous, fully trained to act with expertness and brilliancy her prescribed *roll* in the arranged drama of public manners. But that which is most beautiful soonest receives deterioration: at all events it is very evident, that the young English female, thus unsuspicious and unprepared, accustomed to take safely a part in general society, and even to consider herself qualified to give it a value and interest by her attractions, is by no means adapted for promiscuous exposure in a land where her sex is regarded as placed before marriage under strict corporal *surveillance*. Every state of society has its own proper protections, conformable to its nature, and intended to counteract the evils to which it is most exposed. The seclusion of girls has been adopted in France as a necessary precaution, in consequence of the footing on which women are placed. Is it prudent in us, who have a just repugnance to such a defence, to hazard without it the dangers against which it is provided? Frank by habit, eager in the curiosity excited by new scenes, the young persons whom we send from us to finish their attainments at a period when the disposition is in

a state to receive its deepest impressions, are exposed to the promiscuous, and often the ill-selected, company of foreigners, who, unaccustomed to see unmarried females trusted freely to the public meetings of society, are apt to misconstrue and abuse that unsuspecting confidence which they do not understand. On the other hand, the freedom of French mixed conversation, which at first places the young strangers in a very painful situation, of necessity finishes by becoming familiar: and is there not danger that they may be ultimately so far influenced by the examples and representations around them, as to see in this freedom, not an insult to their sex, but a proof that it is placed in France on a footing of more honourable equality with men than in England?

These remarks on the nature and tendency of the recent, and still continued influx of our people into France, have no immediate reference to the character of the French nation; but their relation to ourselves will account for the anxiety we feel that our countrymen and countrywomen should not be deceived as to the real nature of the condition of a country with whom they are rushing into such close communications. Of the danger from this intercourse to our religious habits, we have forborne to say any thing; the subject has been frequently adverted to by us in former numbers; and it is almost too obvious to need, and too painful to bear repetition: besides which, we were anxious on this occasion, to put before our readers the real case of our own country, as it stands affected by its intercourse with France, in respect to those political and social arrangements and rules, of which all persons of common reflection and mere worldly policy must admit the expedience.

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